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ABSTRACT

This student text and teacher's guide feature current events and policy issues that are in discussion today. The books offer background on important domestic and foreign policy issues and present arguments from both sides of key issues. The books are divided into three sections. Section 1, "The Federal Government," contains: (1) "The Clinton Administration"; (2) "The 105th Congress"; and (3) "The Supreme Court." Section 2, "Domestic Policy Issues," includes: (1) "The Budget Deficit"; (2) "Constitutional Rights"; (3) "Crime and Drugs"; (4) "The Economy"; (5) "Education"; (6) "Environment"; (7) "Health Care"; (8) "Immigration"; (9) "Poverty"; and (10) "Women and Minorities." Section 3, "Foreign Policy Issues," contains: (1) "Defense"; (2) "Democracy and Human Rights"; (3) "International Trade"; (4) "Weapons Proliferation"; (5) "World Poverty and Foreign Aid"; (6) "East Asia"; (7) "Europe"; (8) "Latin America"; (9) "The Middle East"; and (10) "Russia." A 60-item list of books and articles that provide further information and perspectives on many of the topics covered is given. The teacher's guide contains lesson plans for each unit. Also included are unit test materials, unit test answers, student handouts, and student handouts for lower reading levels. (LB)

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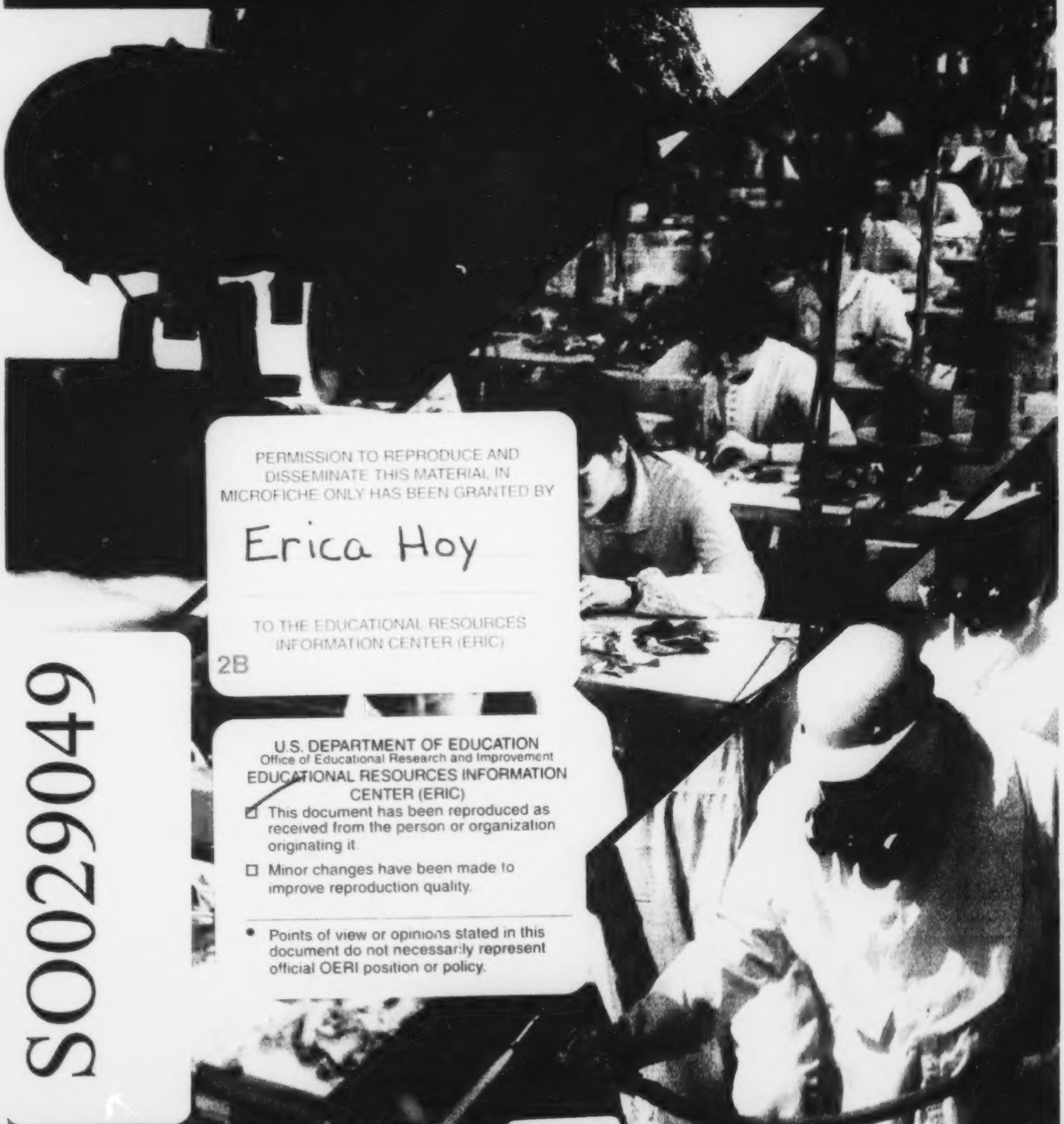

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PREFACE

This book is about policy issues—matters being discussed and debated by U.S. citizens and lawmakers. Today, Americans receive an unprecedented amount of information about national and international affairs. Much of this information is intended to convince people to believe a certain way. *Current Issues,* now in its twenty-first edition, takes a different approach. In twenty-three chapters about domestic policy and foreign policy issues, the book informs readers about important concerns of today but leaves judgments up to the individual. Each chapter provides basic background information, identifies key questions, and details arguments from differing points of view.

The topics were chosen because they are part of public policy debate in the United States today. Americans are discussing these and many other problems in their communities, in their state capitals, and particularly in Washington, D.C. The federal government cannot and does not influence every event or situation that becomes news, but it does affect much of what goes on in the United States and the world. These are the areas discussed in *Current Issues.*

Nothing is more important to the democratic form of government in the United States than the informed participation of its citizens in the political process. *Current Issues* is designed to support greater civic participation by ensuring that when it comes time for its readers to vote in an election, state an opinion, or take a stand on an issue, they will do so from an informed perspective.

CONTENTS

The Federal Government

Introduction 8
Chapter 1: The Clinton Administration 10
Chapter 2: The 105th Congress 20
Chapter 3: The Supreme Court 28

Domestic Policy Issues

Introduction 34
Chapter 4: The Budget Deficit 36
Chapter 5: Constitutional Rights 52
Chapter 6: Crime and Drugs 66
Chapter 7: The Economy 78
Chapter 8: Education 92
Chapter 9: Environment 104
Chapter 10: Health Care 118
Chapter 11: Immigration 134
Chapter 12: Poverty 148
Chapter 13: Women and Minorities 160

Foreign Policy Issues

Introduction 176
Chapter 14: Defense 178
Chapter 15: Democracy and Human Rights . . . 192
Chapter 16: International Trade 208
Chapter 17: Weapons Proliferation 222
Chapter 18: World Poverty and Foreign Aid . . 234
Chapter 19: East Asia 246
Chapter 20: Europe 262
Chapter 21: Latin America 278
Chapter 22: The Middle East 296
Chapter 23: Russia 314

For Further Reading 334
Index 338

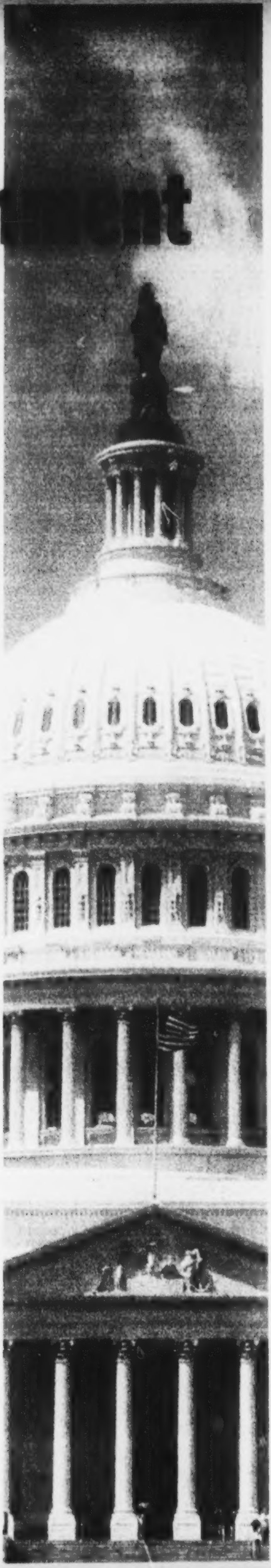
The Federal Government

Introduction 8

Chapter 1: The Clinton Administration. 10

Chapter 2: The 105th Congress. 20

Chapter 3: The Supreme Court 28



INTRODUCTION

Though the United States is a democracy, it is not a "pure democracy." The citizens are not directly involved in every policy decision. The nation is a republic—with elected representatives who deal with the day-to-day workings of government. Government officials constantly make decisions about important issues. Policymakers devise plans for addressing the nation's needs and for conducting relations with other countries. The process for dealing with domestic and foreign issues is called public policy. Developing public policy is the government's way of meeting national goals, such as defending the country, protecting the environment, and improving access to health care. In the United States, the three branches of federal government—executive, legislative, and judicial—play different, but interrelated, roles in making and implementing public policy.

The executive branch, which includes the president, Cabinet departments, and federal agencies, has the constitutional duty to carry out the laws of the United States. But the executive branch also initiates policies, represented, for example, by the budget the president sends to Congress. After Congress has approved and funded the president's proposals, the administration (another name for the executive branch) executes them.

The legislative branch—Congress—is primarily charged with making public policy. The Constitution gives senators and representatives the power to formulate defense, trade, and other policies, as well as the power to raise and allocate funds to implement such decisions. Congressional committees monitor the executive branch to make sure that the president, Cabinet departments, and federal agencies are carrying out policies as Congress intended.

The judicial branch, which is made up of the Supreme Court and lower federal courts, settles disputes involving citizens and federal, state, and local governments where a federal question is involved. Federal courts interpret the U.S. Constitution as well as the nation's laws and treaties. The Supreme Court can, in effect, change public policy decisions by ruling that certain laws, regulations, or practices are unconstitutional. Decisions of the Supreme Court usually stand as the law of the land unless the Court later overturns a previous decision or the Constitution is amended, thereby nullifying one of the Court's decisions.

The federal government's priorities constantly change to reflect the needs of the country and the wishes of the electorate. In 1996, Americans elected a majority of Republicans to Congress and reelected President Bill Clinton, a Democrat. Together they will pass laws dealing with many domestic public policy issues. However, when the legislative and executive branches of government are controlled by opposing parties, finding a consensus is almost always a challenge. At the same time, it is a good example of the system of "checks and balances."

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

Americans vote for president and vice president on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November of every leap year. Both are sworn into office (inaugurated) at 12:00 noon on the following January 20. President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore took office in January 1993, and were reelected in 1996. A president can serve two terms in office.

President

The White House

Bill Clinton, age 51, is the forty-second president of the United States. Prior to his election in 1992, he was governor of Arkansas from 1979 to 1981 and from 1983 to 1993. During his first term in office, President Clinton signed free-trade, anticrime, and welfare reform legislation, pushed for peace agreements in the Middle East, and sent U.S. peacekeeping troops to Haiti and Bosnia. The president's declared priorities for his second term are a balanced budget, campaign finance reform, education, and additional crime control legislation. On the foreign policy front, President Clinton is working to improve relations with China and seek additional nuclear arms reductions with Russia.

Vice President

The White House

Albert Gore, Jr., age 49, was a U.S. representative from Tennessee for eight years beginning in 1976, and served in the U.S. Senate from 1984 to 1993. As vice president, he is an important adviser to the president, focusing much of his attention on the environment, the economy, and ways to "reinvent" or downsize the national bureaucracy. One of President Clinton's most trusted and closest advisers, Vice President Gore often serves as spokesman for the president on national security matters and represents the administration overseas.

CABINET

There are currently fourteen Cabinet departments. President George Washington's first cabinet was made up of the secretaries of state, treasury, and war (now defense) and the attorney general. Cabinet members are listed here in chronological order of the creation of their departments.

Secretary of State

U.S. Mission to the United Nations

Madeleine K. Albright, age 59, was ambassador to the United Nations (UN) during President Clinton's first term. As ambassador, Albright urged UN members to streamline the organization's bureaucracy, and was instrumental in rallying opposition to a second term for UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali. In 1997, she became the first woman to be appointed secretary of state, succeeding Warren Christopher. As the nation's top diplomat, Secretary Albright travels the world, helping keep the Middle East peace process alive, negotiating with Chinese leaders over human rights, and working with the UN secretary general, Kofi Annan.

Secretary of the Treasury

U.S. Department of Treasury

Robert E. Rubin, age 57, was named to head the Treasury Department in January 1995. Before becoming secretary, Rubin was the chairman of the National Economic Council. He worked for an investment company for twenty-six years before joining the Clinton administration. As secretary of the treasury, Rubin had to find ways for the Treasury to continue paying the government's bills while Congress and the president were negotiating a budget agreement. He is considered to be President Clinton's most influential economic adviser.

Secretary of Defense

U.S. Department of Defense

William S. Cohen, 56, became secretary of defense in January 1997, replacing William Perry. Cohen, a Republican, served in the Senate for eighteen years before being picked by President Clinton to run the Pentagon. Cohen served on the Senate Armed Services Committee, where issues such as reorganization of the Pentagon and modernization of the U.S. Navy were among his top concerns. A vocal critic of the Clinton administration's national security policies while in Congress, Secretary Cohen is a strong proponent of a national missile defense system, and believes expansion of NATO should proceed slowly.

Attorney General

U.S. Department of Justice

Before being named to head the Department of Justice, Janet Reno, age 58, was the state attorney for Dade County, Florida, from 1978 to 1993. As chief prosecutor in Dade County, she won praise for reforming the juvenile justice system and establishing a special court for drug offenders. In 1995, the attorney general led the investigation into the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. During President Clinton's first term, Reno appointed four independent counsels to investigate possible wrongdoing by members of the Clinton administration.

Secretary of the Interior

U.S. Department of the Interior

Bruce Babbitt, age 58, was governor of Arizona for nine years and a Democratic presidential candidate in 1988. As secretary of the interior, he oversees 500 million acres of national parks, wildlife refuges, forests, and recreation areas. Babbitt supports a "dominant public use" policy for the nation's public lands, which gives priority to recreation, wildlife, and watershed uses. He has also promoted a plan to increase the fees mining companies pay to take minerals from publicly owned land.

Secretary of Agriculture

U.S. Department of Agriculture

Dan Glickman, age 52, became secretary of agriculture in April 1995. Before being named to the Clinton Cabinet, Glickman served nine terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. While representing his district in Kansas, he was an influential member of the House Agriculture and Intelligence Committees. Glickman has had to manage a department that is changing in the face of cutbacks in government subsidies to farmers.

Secretary of Commerce

Consolidated News/Archive Photos

Before being named secretary of commerce in 1997, William F. Daley, 49, was a prominent lawyer in Chicago and a top political adviser to his brother, Mayor Richard Daley. In 1993, Daley won praise for his work as chief lobbyist for President Clinton on winning congressional approval for the North American Free Trade Agreement. He also served as cochair of the host committee for the 1996 Democratic National Convention. One of Secretary Daley's biggest challenges will be to keep the Department of Commerce, which many members of Congress would like to eliminate, a vital agency.

Secretary of Labor

AP Photo/Joe Marquette

Alexis Herman, 50, was director of the White House Office of Public Liaison before being picked to succeed Robert Reich as secretary of labor in President Clinton's second term. At the Office of Public Liaison, Herman helped build public consensus for presidential priorities by arranging public policy briefings on domestic and foreign policy issues. From 1977 to 1981, Secretary Herman served as director of the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor.

Secretary of Health and Human Services

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Donna E. Shalala, 55, was chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Madison from 1988 to 1993. She was also assistant secretary for housing and urban development from 1977 to 1980, and chair of the Children's Defense Fund in 1992. Secretary Shalala heads a huge department that oversees a number of highly visible and expensive programs, including Social Security and Medicare. One of Shalala's biggest priorities in 1997 and 1998 will be examining the effects of the 1996 welfare reform law on low-income families.

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Before being named by President Clinton to succeed Henry Cisneros as secretary of housing and urban development, Andrew M. Cuomo, 39, served as assistant secretary for community planning and development from 1993 to 1996. In that post, Cuomo oversaw a wide variety of community and economic development, affordable housing, and homeless programs. The son of former New York governor Mario Cuomo, Secretary Cuomo also directed a New York City commission to study the homeless problem. He has been an outspoken advocate of programs against poverty and crime.

Secretary of Transportation

U.S. Department of Transportation

Rodney E. Slater, 42, served as the administrator of Federal Highway Administration before being appointed secretary of transportation. The highway administration, which is part of the Department of Transportation, is responsible for ensuring the safety of the nation's roads and bridges. A longtime political ally of President Clinton's, Secretary Slater was once chairman of the Arkansas State Highway Commission, and a member of the presidential transition team in 1992.

Secretary of Energy

U.S. Department of Transportation

Frederico F. Peña, age 49, was a two-term mayor of Denver and a Colorado state legislator before coming to Washington. In both positions he was involved with transportation and planning decisions in a largely rural state. From 1993 to 1996, Peña served as secretary of transportation. In his new post, Peña is head of an agency that is viewed as expendable by many in Congress.

Secretary of Education

U.S. Department of Education

Richard W. Riley, age 64, was the governor of South Carolina from 1979 to 1987. As governor, Riley was an outspoken advocate for school reform. The secretary has addressed such issues as college loans, school choice, and trying to convince Congress to provide funding for Goals 2000: Educate America, the administration's plan for education. The Department of Education has also been targeted for closure by some lawmakers in Congress.

Secretary of Veterans Affairs

U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs

Jesse Brown, age 52, was the executive director of the Disabled American Veterans for five years, having suffered a serious injury while serving as a marine in Vietnam. One of the largest Cabinet departments, Veterans Affairs administers health care services and benefit programs for veterans and their families. Brown is particularly interested in devising programs to help homeless and drug-dependent veterans.

KEY PRESIDENTIAL ADVISERS

Along with Cabinet secretaries, other important officials serve as key advisers to the president. Although these advisers are technically not members of the Cabinet, presidents commonly give Cabinet status to some advisers, allowing them to attend Cabinet meetings. Several of the following advisers head large agencies or represent the United States in important international settings.

Ambassador to the United Nations

Office of Representative Richardson

Bill Richardson, age 49, served in the U.S. House of Representatives from New Mexico for fourteen years, and had risen to position of chief deputy minority whip before he was named as Madeleine Albright's successor at the United Nations. In recent years, Richardson made a name for himself as a skilled diplomatic troubleshooter, as he traveled to Iraq and several African countries and successfully negotiated the release of American citizens held against their will. Ambassador Richardson has been encouraging the new UN leadership to implement reforms necessary to increase confidence in the international organization.

White House Chief of Staff

The White House

Erskine Bowles, 52, previously served in the Clinton administration as head of the Small Business Administration in 1993, and then as White House deputy chief of staff in 1994. In 1995, he returned to his native North Carolina, where he was an investment banker. President Clinton picked Bowles to be his new chief of staff in 1996. Bowles was an important negotiator for the president in talks with Republican leaders about balancing the budget.

Director of Central Intelligence

George J. Tenet, age 44, was picked by President Clinton in 1997 to be director of the CIA after serving as deputy director since 1995. Tenet had been acting director since John Deutch stepped down. Previously, Tenet sat on the National Security Council, and before that worked for a decade on Capitol Hill as a Senate staffer. His top priority as director of the CIA will be to restore public confidence in an agency that has been rocked recently by spy scandals.

U.S. Central Intelligence Agency

Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

Carol M. Browner, age 41, served as secretary of the Florida Department of Environmental Regulation from 1991 to 1993. As administrator of the EPA, she helped negotiate a plan to save wetlands by restricting development in these areas. Browner faces challenges from members of Congress who advocate decreasing the scope of all federal regulatory agencies, including the EPA.

Environmental Protection Agency

Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

Louis Freeh, 47, is only the fifth person to head the bureau in its seventy-year history. The FBI is part of the Department of Justice. Appointed by President Clinton in 1993, Freeh, a former FBI agent, gave up a judgeship on the U.S. District Court in New York to accept the ten-year term at the FBI. In 1995, Freeh defended the bureau's actions in an incident near Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in which several people were killed in an arrest attempt.

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Director of the Office of Management and Budget

Office of Management and Budget

In April 1996, President Clinton appointed Franklin Raines, age 48, to serve as his director of the Office of Management and Budget. Raines succeeded Alice Rivlin, who left the OMB to serve as vice chair of the Federal Reserve Board. Before become OMB director, Raines had been vice chair of the Federal National Mortgage Association, and had previously worked in the OMB during the Carter administration.

Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy

Office of National Drug Control Policy

In 1996, President Clinton appointed General Barry R. McCaffrey, 55, to serve as the senior drug policy official in the executive branch and as the president's drug policy spokesman. McCaffrey joined the military when he was only 17 years old, and served four combat tours: in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam (two tours), and the Persian Gulf. He went on to become the youngest four-star general in the U.S. Army. General McCaffrey believes that, to be effective, antidrug strategy needs to combine treatment with enforcement.

National Security Adviser

The White House

Samuel "Sandy" R. Berger, 51, served as deputy national security adviser from 1993 to 1996 before replacing Anthony Lake in the top job in 1997. In the late 1970s, Berger worked at the State Department during the Carter administration, where he wrote speeches for President Carter and Secretary of State Edmund Muskie. Before joining President Clinton's foreign policy team in 1993, Berger practiced law in Washington, D.C., specializing in international trade.

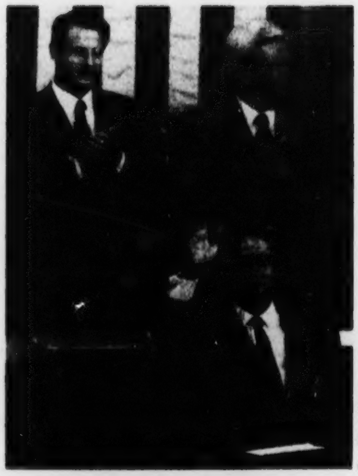
U.S. Trade Representative

Office of the U.S. Trade Representative

In 1997, Charlene Barshefsky, age 46, officially became U.S. trade representative after serving as acting representative for one year. Barshefsky was a lawyer in Washington, D.C., before being named deputy trade representative in 1993. A well-known trade expert, Barshefsky will work to decrease the U.S. trade deficit with Japan and China, as well as expand existing trade agreements with Latin America.

THE 105TH CONGRESS

In January 1997, shortly after his second inauguration, President Bill Clinton met with Republican leaders in the Senate and the House of Representatives to discuss a legislative agenda for the 105th Congress. They agreed on five priorities: reforming education, reducing juvenile crime, addressing the financial crisis in the District of Columbia, cutting taxes, and encouraging businesses to hire people formerly on welfare. Although the White House and the Republican leadership had disagreements over how to specifically address these issues, they pledged to try to work together.



The White House

A joint session of Congress met to hear President Bill Clinton's State of the Union address in January 1997. In the State of the Union speech, the president tells Congress and the American people what the administration's economic, social, and foreign policies will be in the upcoming year.

This promise of cooperation was in stark contrast to President Clinton's relationship with Republicans in the 104th Congress. Democrats and Republicans waged a public battle over the federal budget, causing the federal government to close down for several weeks in late 1995 and early 1996. Although the two sides reached a budget agreement for 1996, how to balance the budget by 2002 remained a source of tension between the two political parties. In addition, there are profound disagreements over welfare reform, entitlements, tax cuts, and campaign finance reform.

Will President Clinton and the Republican majority in the 105th Congress be able to work together to pass important legislation? Many observers question whether the gridlock that hampered the 104th Congress will not reappear in the 105th. However, others believe that if the American people continue to call for reform and action on Capitol Hill, both Democrats and Republicans will have an interest in negotiation and compromise to show the public that they can get things done.

A Divided Government

In 1993 and 1994, President Clinton worked with the Democratic-controlled 103rd Congress to pass much of his legislative agenda. However, the majority of the American public believed that Congress had become an ineffective and unresponsive institution. Because Democrats had controlled Congress for so long, they took most of the blame and, in the 1994 elections, lost both houses to the Republicans. For the first time in forty years, the Republican party held the majority in the House of Representatives and Senate.

The new Republican majority promised sweeping changes in the way the federal government works. A balanced budget, tax cuts, welfare reform, congressional reform—these were just a few of the proposals Republican members promised to bring to a vote in 1995. However, many of the proposals were either rejected by or were not brought to a vote in the Senate. In addition, some bills passed by both houses were vetoed by President Clinton.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

The U.S. Congress meets in the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

A Few Facts About the 105th Congress

House of Representatives 435 members		Senate 100 members
227*	Republicans	55
205*	Democrats	45
1*	Independents	—
46	Women	9
36	African Americans	1

**As of May 1997, there were two vacant seats to be filled by special elections.*

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In 1996, Republicans in the Senate elected Trent Lott of Mississippi (left) to replace Bob Dole as Senate majority leader. Tom Daschle (D-S.Dak.) (right) is the Senate minority leader. One of their top responsibilities is rallying support for their party's bills in the Senate.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

The stalemate between the president and Congress was in great part a result of divided government. A divided government occurs when one political party controls one branch of government, while the other party controls the other branch. While some are convinced that divided government promotes partisanship and gridlock, others believe divided government is an important extension of the system of checks and balances inherent in American democracy. Divided government can help keep one branch of government—or one political party—from becoming too powerful.

Congress vs. the President. In the 1995 and 1996, the most controversial and divisive conflict between President Clinton and Congress was over the federal budget. Both sides produced budget proposals that they declared would balance the budget in seven years. President Clinton vetoed the Republican plan after it was approved by Congress because he said it cut too much from Medicare, education, and environmental protection. Republicans argued that the president's proposals were based on overly optimistic economic forecasts and would not work. The stalemate between the two branches prevented a budget from being passed and caused the federal government to shut down. Although a budget for fiscal year 1996 was eventually passed and signed by the president, the larger question of how to balance the budget by 2002 was unresolved until the105th Congress and President Clinton agreed on a compromise in 1997.

Many Republicans believed that Congress should pass an amendment to the Constitution requiring Congress to balance the budget. However, most Democrats, including President Clinton, opposed the idea, saying the spending cuts could be made without changing the Constitution. Lawmakers proposed a balanced budget amendment in 1995 and again in 1997, but it was defeated in the Senate both times by only two votes.

Though they disagreed on many issues, President Clinton and the 104th Congress were able to cooperate to pass several important bills. These included measures to raise the minimum wage and allow workers to keep their health care if they changed jobs, and important changes to welfare programs and immigration policies. The welfare reform law is particularly controversial because of its time limits and work requirements, which some say might cause some Americans to sink deeper into poverty. President Clinton has said he will seek changes in the law during his second term.

TERMS OF CONGRESS

Each term of Congress lasts for two years and is numbered consecutively from the first term, which began on March 4, 1789. Congress holds two regular sessions each term—one each year. A session is supposed to last about five months, but, as was the case in 1995, pressing issues may require Congress to remain in session throughout most of the year.

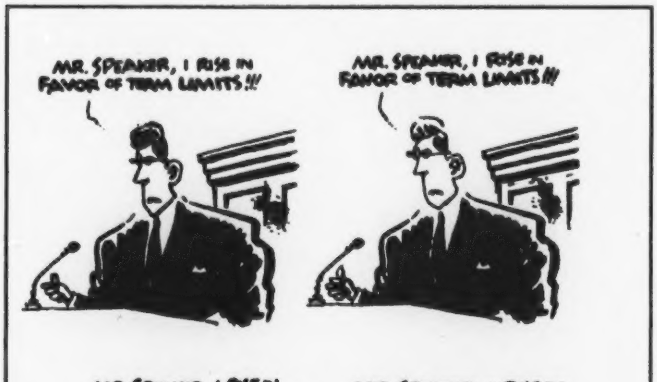
Reforming Congress

According to public opinion polls, most Americans have a negative view of Congress. They believe that it is generally a corrupt and ineffective institution. Recent ethic violations and other wrongdoing by members of Congress have contributed to voter cynicism. Many lawmakers say it is time for the legislative body to reform itself and win back the trust and respect of the American people. Two reforms at the top of many Americans' wish lists are term limits and campaign finance reform.

Term Limits. Article I of the U.S. Constitution sets the terms of office for members of Congress at two years for the House and six for the Senate. The Constitution does not set any limits on the number of terms members of Congress may serve. However, many Americans favor enacting term limits for their representatives and senators in Washington. By 1996, legislatures in twenty-three states had passed term limit laws. However, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states could not regulate the tenures of federal legislators, and that the only way to impose term limits on members of Congress was through a constitutional amendment.

In 1995 and 1997, however, the House of Representatives failed to gather the two-thirds votes necessary to pass such an amendment. Some observers say that the passage of a term limit amendment is unlikely because members of Congress, many of whom serve multiple terms, would not choose to put themselves out of office.

Supporters of term limits believe that Congress has become a body of career politicians, controlled by special interests, who have lost touch with the American people. They believe that Congress should be viewed as a temporary service, not a career that lasts for decades. Proponents also argue that newly elected representatives and senators would spend more time serving their constituents and less time fundraising for their next reelection campaigns if the number of terms they could serve were limited. In addition, term limits would ensure the arrival in Washington every few years of a fresh crop of senators and representatives with innovative ideas and the courage to make tough decisions.


MR. SPEAKER, I RISE IN FAVOR OF TERM LIMITS!!!
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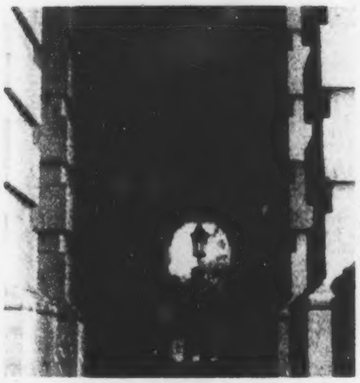
Critics of term limits say that the voters should decide the electoral fate of their representatives and senators, not rely on an amendment to do it for them. They argue that the 1994 elections proved that voters already have the ability to make dramatic changes to Congress. Opponents of term limits point out that more than half of the members of the 104th Congress have been elected since the mid-1980s. In addition, many experts believe that imposing term limits will further reduce the effectiveness of the institution. "Learning the ropes" of Congress and the lawmaking process can take many years; members need time to acquire the knowledge and expertise to become effective legislators.

Campaign Finance Reform. Many experts believe that a more effective method of making congressional elections competitive and fair is by regulating how candidates for Congress and other federal offices raise and spend campaign funds.

The High Cost of Campaigns. Spending on congressional campaigns has increased dramatically in the 1990s. In 1990, winning candidates for the U.S. Senate spent a combined $111 million on their campaigns; in 1996, they spent $122 million. More alarming, however, is the increased spending in campaigns for the House of Representatives. Winning candidates paid a total of more than $287 million in 1996, up from $171 million in 1990. Increased reliance on expensive television and radio advertising is a major cause of the spiraling costs of campaigns. Because running for office is so expensive, members of Congress must devote much of their time in office to fundraising, taking valuable time away from serving their constituents and writing legislation. In addition, many observers believe that challengers to incumbent officeholders are unable to mount serious campaigns because they do not have the fundraising capabilities of incumbents, who can use their influence to help special interest groups.

The Influence of Political Action Committees (PACs). PACs have been a source of controversy in Washington for many years. PACs are organizations through which special interest groups raise and contribute money to political campaigns. Experts estimate that there are now more than 4,000 PACs representing various special interests. While supporters argue that PACs represent legitimate civic interests, others say the money these groups contribute buys them too much influence with the representatives and senators they help. Many Americans favor abolishing PACs and instituting new regulations for campaign fundraising. Others say such an act would be an infringement on citizens' rights to participate in and influence the way American democracy works.

Recent Controversies. By law, individuals cannot donate more than $1,000 each to the campaign of a candidate for a federal office. PACs may give only $5,000 per candidate. However, donations to political parties by PACs or corporations are not limited. The 1996 presidential campaign was marred by accusations that both Democrats and Republicans skirted federal election laws by spending too much on the campaigns for their candidates and accepting illegal contributions. In January 1997, Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich was formally reprimanded by his colleagues for ethics and campaign funding violations. Allegations also surfaced that the Democratic National Committee had accepted donations from foreign diplomats and businessmen in exchange for favorable treatment. President Clinton was criticized for allowing major contributors to visit and stay overnight at the White House, prompting speculation that his administration's policies were being shaped by those individuals who gave to his campaign.



Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Many Americans are opposed to the influence lobbyists and large financial contributions have on lawmakers.

The cumulative effects of past and recent scandals has led many voters to believe that money has corrupted American politics and government. There is a perception among the public that when a lawmaker accepts a campaign contribution, he or she is in some way indebted to that PAC or individual. Consequently, that donation may end up influencing that lawmaker's votes in Congress.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE AMENDMENT

Some members of Congress have proposed amending the Constitution to prohibit political candidates from spending too much on their campaigns. Under some plans, individual citizens would check a line on their tax returns to contribute to a general fund for national campaigns. This money would then be divided evenly among the candidates for office. Supporters say it would eliminate the unfair advantages of rich and incumbent candidates and make the system less prone to corruption and special interests. Opponents, however, say it would be unfair to limit the amount of his or her own money an individual could spend on a campaign, and that legislation is a better way to address the problems.

Congress has debated some form of campaign finance reform in almost every legislative session for the last twenty years. Lawmakers have proposed bans on political action committees, called for free broadcast time for candidates, and championed stricter funding limitations. However, most of these bills have been defeated or were never brought to a vote. Passing campaign finance reform has always been difficult in part because many members of Congress view such legislation as a danger to their reelection prospects. However, some observers believe that with public scrutiny into campaign money increasing, Congress may not be able to ignore the issue any longer.

THE SUPREME COURT

The framers of the Constitution wanted to create a strong central government. At the same time, they feared that individuals or groups might acquire too much power. Accordingly, the delegates divided the powers of government among three separate branches. The legislative branch makes laws, the executive branch enforces laws, and the judicial branch—with the Supreme Court of the United States as its ultimate authority—interprets laws and the Constitution.

Justices for Life

Supreme Court justices are appointed by the president with the "advice and consent" of the Senate. These justices serve on the Court for life, unless they resign or are removed through impeachment. The nine justices of the Supreme Court primarily serve as an appellate court; they review a limited number of appeals arising from the decisions made by the lower federal and state courts. Cases that are approved for review usually present unusual or significant legal issues. The Court hears cases that involve the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States.

Decisions of the nation's highest court have played a major role in shaping U.S. political and social life. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, made sweeping changes in individual rights. The Warren Court struck down racial segregation and government-sponsored prayer in public schools, and upheld the principle of "one person, one vote."

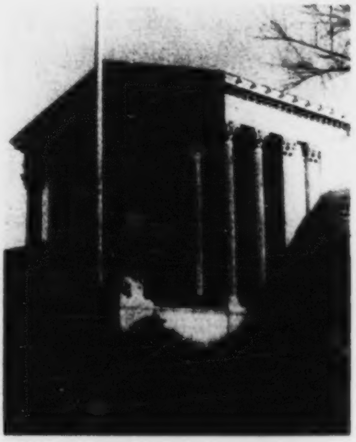
When Warren Burger became chief justice in 1969, the Supreme Court extended some decisions of the Warren Court. For instance, the Burger Court approved busing to achieve racial integration of public schools, upheld affirmative action, and ruled that women have the right to an abortion. However, under Chief Justice Burger, the Supreme Court also limited some of the decisions made under Earl Warren. The Warren Court had established strict procedures for police to follow to ensure that the rights of suspected criminals were not violated. However, the Burger Court ruled that law enforcement authorities may commit minor, unintentional violations of some constitutional rights without penalty, thus preventing some criminals from going free.

Presidents and the Supreme Court

The Supreme Court underwent major changes during the Reagan and Bush administrations. During his eight years in office, President Ronald Reagan named three new associate justices and a chief justice to the Court. In 1981, President Reagan appointed Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court, as an associate justice. In 1986, Reagan named Associate Justice William Rehnquist to replace Chief Justice Warren Burger, who had retired, and chose Antonin Scalia as an associate justice. Reagan appointed Anthony Kennedy to the Court in 1987.

President George Bush also exerted a strong influence on the composition of the Supreme Court. In 1990, Bush appointed David Souter as an associate justice. The following year, he named the Court's second black justice, Clarence Thomas, to replace the retiring Thurgood Marshall, who had been the first African-American justice.

Shortly after taking office in 1993, President Bill Clinton named Ruth Bader Ginsburg, a former American Civil Liberties Union lawyer and judge in the U.S. Court of Appeals, to replace retiring justice Byron White. Justice Ginsburg is the Court's second woman justice and first Jewish justice since 1969. In 1994, Clinton selected federal appeals court judge Stephen Breyer to fill the seat of the retiring Harry Blackmun. Because President Clinton was reelected



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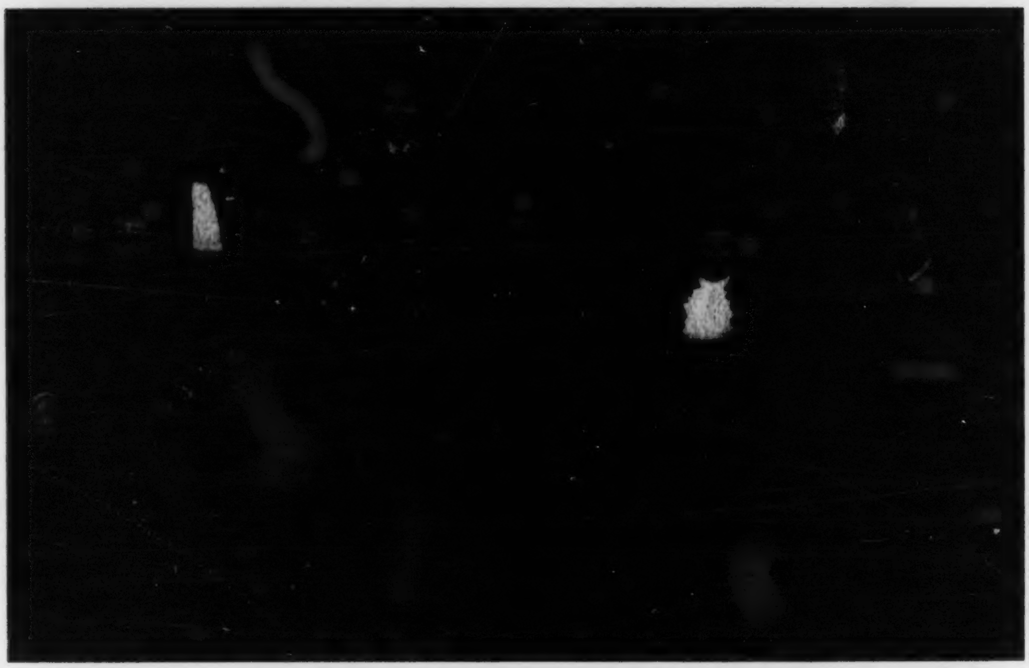
The Supreme Court building, styled after a classic Grecian temple, was completed in 1935 at a cost of $3 million. Before its completion, the Court had no home. Since 1789, when the Court was organized, the justices had met in various rooms of the Capitol and had little space.



Supreme Court Historical Society

Supreme Court justices, from left to right: Antonin Scalia, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, John Paul Stevens, David Souter, William Rehnquist, Clarence Thomas, Sandra Day O'Connor, Stephen Breyer, Anthony Kennedy.

to a second term in 1996, some expect that the president will have an additional opportunity to name another justice to the Court. Many observers believe that these appointments can be the most lasting mark a president leaves, because the decisions made by these men and women can have such an enduring and significant impact on the nation.

Supreme Court appointments are often controversial, however, because of the power the Court wields. Liberals and conservatives generally have conflicting ideas about the philosophies they think a Supreme Court justice should hold. Conservatives, in general, prefer justices who favor strict interpretations of the Constitution, which they believe the framers intended. In contrast, liberals often want justices who will allow for broader interpretations of the Constitution to suit changing circumstances, as they think the framers had planned.

Recent Important Decisions

In the 1995/96 term, the Supreme Court made several important decisions, especially concerning controversial social issues. In a 5 to 4 ruling, the Court ruled that congressional districts in North Carolina and Texas that were purposely drawn to create a majority of minority voters in each were unconstitutional, because race was the "predominant factor" in deciding the districts' shape and size. In a 6 to 3 decision, the Court struck down a Colorado statute that banned laws protecting homosexuals from bias, and the Court voted 7 to 1 that the Virginia Military Institute's male-only training program was unconstitutional, and that, as a state-supported school, the institute must admit women.

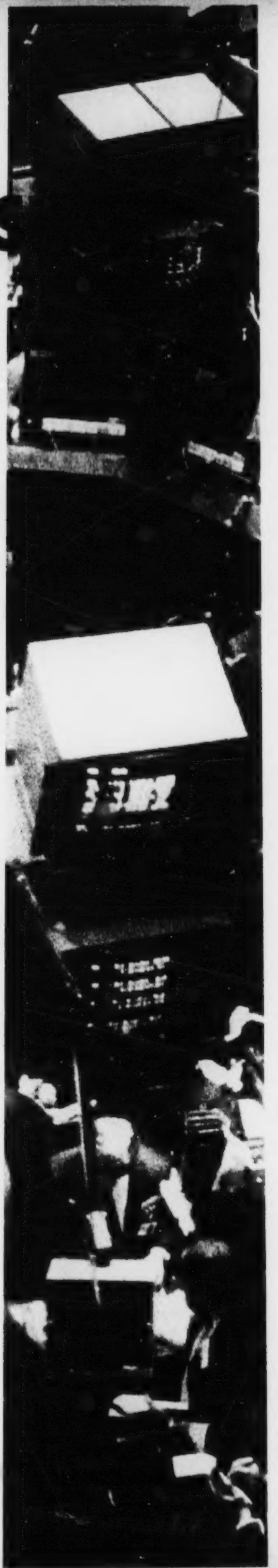
In the 1996/97 term, the Supreme Court was scheduled to decide on several more cases dealing with controversial high-profile constitutional issues. These include:

- a challenge to the Handgun Control Act brought by local law enforcement officials, who argue that its requirements are an improper federal invasion of state and local powers
- a ruling on whether the Constitution gives terminally ill patients a right to doctor-assisted suicide
- a ruling on the constitutionality of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. Congress passed this law in 1993 to reverse the effects of Supreme Court decisions that some lawmakers believed infringed on religious liberty
- a ruling on whether a sitting president of the United States can be sued for actions unrelated to official duties

COURT SIZE HAS VARIED

The number of Supreme Court justices is not fixed by the Constitution, and Court membership has varied from a low of five judges (1801–7) to a high of ten (1863–7). Its size was set at nine in 1869 and remains at that number today. In 1937, President Franklin Roosevelt, upset that the Court had ruled several of his New Deal programs unconstitutional, asked Congress to permit him to appoint additional Supreme Court members, but Congress refused to pass such legislation.

Domestic Policy Iss



Introduction 34

Chapter 4: The Budget Deficit 36

Chapter 5: Constitutional Rights 52

Chapter 6: Crime and Drugs 66

Chapter 7: The Economy 78

Chapter 8: Education 92

Chapter 9: Environment 104

Chapter 10: Health Care 118

Chapter 11: Immigration 134

Chapter 12: Poverty 148

Chapter 13: Women and Minorities 160

INTRODUCTION

Americans are concerned about domestic public policy issues. National matters such as education, unemployment, crime, health care, and poverty are called domestic issues because they affect Americans' homeland. Economic and social problems affect virtually every person living in the United States. The government—be it at the local, state, or federal level—has always played a major role in addressing domestic concerns.

Each year, lawmakers face difficult decisions about the level of government involvement in the lives of the people they represent. Of course, the Constitution sets certain limits. The First Amendment, for example, protects individuals from government interference by guaranteeing freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. However, Americans disagree about how broad these protections are and how many limits the government should place on people's rights. Policymakers seek to balance the rights of citizens with the requirement to preserve public order.

For the first 150 years of the republic, the federal government was relatively uninvolved in the day-to-day activities of the American people. Decisions about everyday life were left to state and local governments and to the people directly. But the Great Depression of the 1930s radically changed the role of the federal government. President Franklin Roosevelt and Congress began programs to help needy Americans who faced hunger and poverty. Eventually, the government in Washington took over many responsibilities formerly assumed by state and local governments and created new programs as well.

Further changes occurred during the 1960s, when President Lyndon Johnson launched a national effort to eliminate poverty and discrimination. Federal programs were established to provide needy citizens with education, jobs, medical care, food, and housing. Congress passed civil rights laws prohibiting discrimination in education, housing, public accommodations, and voting. In the 1970s, the government became involved in energy and environmental issues.

Many Americans believe that only the federal government is capable of resolving major national issues. They think that only the president, Congress, and the Supreme Court can ensure that factories will not pollute the air, that employers will hire minorities, and that all citizens will receive fair and equal treatment in education, housing, and employment. Many people see government regulation of certain aspects of American life as a necessity.

Since the role of government began expanding in the 1930s, however, many Americans have contended that the federal government has become bureaucratic, inefficient, and too involved in their lives. They believe that the federal government uses its power to make decisions that should be made by states, communities, and individuals. In the 1990s, the public's discontent with the federal government deepened, as more and more Americans came to view Washington as the problem, not the solution. In 1996, legislation was enacted that gave state governments more power over programs that traditionally had been the domain of the federal government, most notably the welfare system.

How can the United States stop the cycle of poverty? How can the nation's health care system be improved? Should restrictions on immigration be tightened? These and other domestic policy questions pose constant challenges for the president, members of Congress, governors, and citizens from Maine to Hawaii.

THE BUDGET DEFICIT

For almost thirty consecutive years, the federal government has been spending more money than it takes in, creating annual budget deficits and adding to the national debt. As a result, the government has to borrow money to pay for the hundreds of programs it funds.

Many Americans believe that the United States can no longer afford to ignore these problems. Many fear that the deficit and the debt will eventually cripple the economy and reduce the standard of living for future generations.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should Congress pass a balanced budget amendment?
- Should Congress raise taxes to reduce the deficit?
- Should Social Security be privatized?

As he began his second term in office in 1997, President Bill Clinton said that a balanced federal budget would be at the top of his agenda. Congress also agreed that a balanced budget should be its number one legislative priority. This talk of compromise lay in direct contrast to the bitter budget disputes of 1995. In November and December of that year, the federal government was brought to a near standstill because lawmakers could not agree on how to balance the budget. Democrats generally believed that Republican proposals to reduce spending on social programs would unduly harm older and low-income Americans. Republicans said that the Democrats were exaggerating the effect of their plan and were not serious about reducing the deficit.

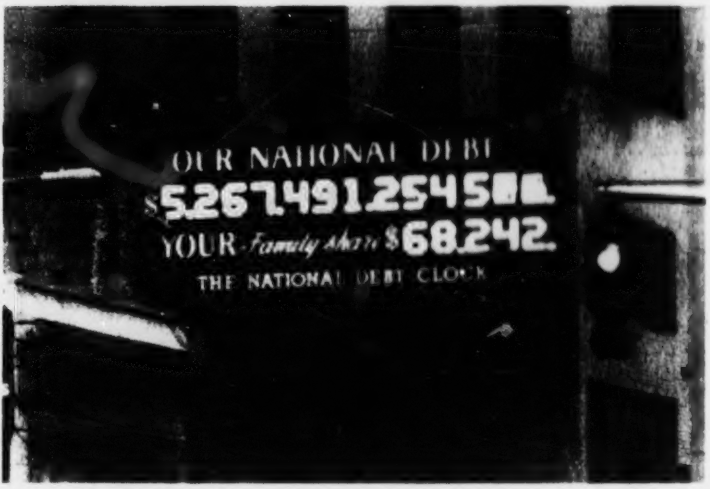
The two parties were able to agree on a budget for fiscal year 1996 (FY96), which began in October 1995. In May 1997, President Clinton and Republicans agreed on terms to balance the budget by 2002. Although the agreement did little to address the long-term problem of entitlement spending, most observers agreed that the deal was better than none at all.

BACKGROUND

Budget Deficits and the National Debt

A Government Beyond Its Means. For nearly thirty years, the federal government has run up budget deficits—the amount by which its spending exceeds its revenue. Some years, the deficit has been as low as $10 billion (1974); others, it has been as high as $290 billion (1991). The last time the federal government ended up with a budget surplus—collecting more revenue than it spent—was in 1969, when Richard Nixon was beginning his first term as president. Before that year, the federal government had operated with deficits but only sporadically. The deficits of the last thirty years have been substantially larger, contributing more to the national debt, and thus more worrisome to lawmakers and the American people. Since then, the cost and number of government programs has steadily increased. In the 1970s, deficits averaged $38 billion per year; in the 1980s, they averaged $156 billion per year; in the 1990s, deficits have averaged around $200 billion per year.

At the end of 1996, the deficit stood at about $107 billion, a significant drop since 1991. While some experts gave the credit for this improvement to President Clinton's 1993 deficit reduction bill, others said



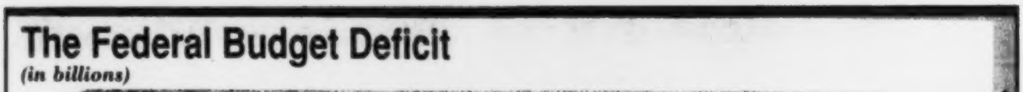
Close Up Foundation/Kim Couranz

This electronic clock near Times Square in New York tracks the size of the national debt.

the reduction was more the result of the growing American economy. However, the deficit may once again soar early next century, as spending on entitlement programs like Social Security and Medicare automatically increases.

The National Debt. Every budget deficit the government creates contributes to the national debt. The national debt is the sum of the deficits the U.S. government has accumulated over the years. The debt now stands at about $5.3 trillion. If action is not taken soon to curb deficit spending, budget experts predict that, by 2003, the national debt could top $7 trillion.

Mortgaging the Future. Although budget deficits and the national debt have been around for decades, it was not until 1992 that the American public began to pay much attention to the problem. In the 1980s, the American economy was growing and unemployment and infla-


The Federal Budget Deficit

(in billions)

Source: Office of Management and Budget

**Estimates for 1997–2000*

The federal budget deficit measures the difference between the amount of money the government takes in and the amount of money it spends each year.

tion were low. What few noticed was that the federal budget deficit and, consequently, the national debt, were swelling. In 1980, the debt was just less than $1 trillion; by the end of the decade, it had tripled. The increase in defense spending and the continued growth of social programs outpaced the expansion of the economy.

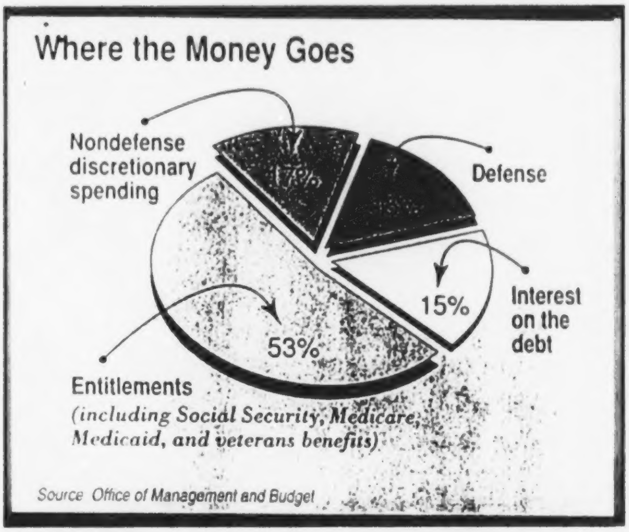
When the U.S. economy fell into a recession in 1990 and experienced sluggish growth over the next two years, the issue of the deficit moved to the center of public debate. Independent presidential candidate Ross Perot called the debt "the crazy old aunt who lives in the basement; all the neighbors knows she's there, but nobody wants to talk about her." This changed in 1992 as people began to become more aware of the effect deficits and debt have on the economy and on the country.

Budget deficits can undermine the economy in a variety of ways. To cover the government's debts, the U.S. Treasury must borrow money that businesses and corporations could otherwise use to invest in the economy—research and development, job training, and so forth. In addition, when the government borrows it competes with other borrowers, such as individuals and businesses. As a result, interest rates go up, thereby making it harder for Americans to borrow for investment.

Responsibility for Future Generations. Many experts point out that, by dampening investment, deficits harm future generations the most. As the debt undermines the country's economy, Americans in the twenty-first century may not enjoy the same standard of living as their parents or grandparents. Many argue that it is essential for lawmakers to eliminate the deficit, contain the national debt, and preserve the American Dream for their children and grandchildren.

Breaking Down the Federal Budget. The federal government spends about $1.7 trillion dollars a year on hundreds of programs and dozens of agencies. The federal budget pays for border patrols along the U.S.–Mexican border, natural disaster emergency relief, highway construction, peacekeeping operations overseas, health care for low-income Americans, the protection of endangered species, and many other programs.

Government spending is divided into four main categories: defense, nondefense discretionary, mandatory, and interest on the national debt. Defense spending consumes about $260 billion; it has decreased in the 1990s since the end of the Cold War. Nondefense discretionary spending pays for all the programs in the budget whose funding is adjusted by the president and Congress every year; this portion of the budget has grown as the number and cost of government programs has increased.


Where the Money Goes

Source Office of Management and Budget

The federal government will spend about $1.7 trillion in FY98.

Mandatory, or entitlement, spending covers programs, that, by law, the government is obligated to fund, including Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid. Such programs are called entitlements because anyone who qualifies is entitled to receive benefits. Entitlements now make up half of the federal budget. By 2040, more than one in four Americans will be over 65 years old and eligible for Social Security and Medicare benefits. This dramatic increase would mean fewer taxpaying workers would be paying for more retiree benefits. (Currently, every retiree's benefits are supported by five Americans; by 2040 there might be only two workers for every retiree.) Consequently, entitlements could consume more than 70 percent of the federal budget in the next fifty years.

The fourth main category of the budget is annual interest on the debt, which currently stands at about $240 billion. This money buys nothing; it simply pays the interest on all the money the government has had to borrow in past years to pay off its deficits.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Federal Budget

In February 1997, President Clinton submitted a budget for fiscal year 1998 (FY98) totalling about $1.7 trillion. The budget also estimates spending for FY99.

(outlays in billions of dollars)

	FY97	FY98	FY99
National defense	$ 262.3	$ 265.3	$ 269.2
International affairs	17.4	21.8	18.1
General science, space, and technology	16.7	16.5	16.5
Energy	1.0	1.8	1.2
Natural resources and environment	22.1	23.7	23.4
Agriculture	11.4	12.1	11.8
Commerce and housing credit	12.8	8.3	10.7
Transportation	43.8	44.2	42.9
Community and regional development	10.4	11.3	8.8
Education, training, employment, and social services	53.9	64.7	62.4
Health	130.1	133.8	145.1
Medicare	194.0	207.0	220.0
Income security	232.6	239.4	254.8
Social Security	367.3	385.8	403.6
Veterans benefits and services	39.4	41.2	41.7
Administration of justice	23.8	24.9	25.6
General government	12.9	13.6	13.3
Net interest	247.4	249.9	251.8
Undistributed offsetting receipts (civilian retirement contributions and income earned from leasing or sale of government assets)	-46.5	-55.6	-43.5
Totals*			
Budget outlays*	$ 1,631.0	$ 1,687.5	$ 1,760.7
Revenues	$ 1,505.4	$ 1,566.8	$ 1,643.3
Deficit	$ -125.6	$ -120.7	$ -117.4

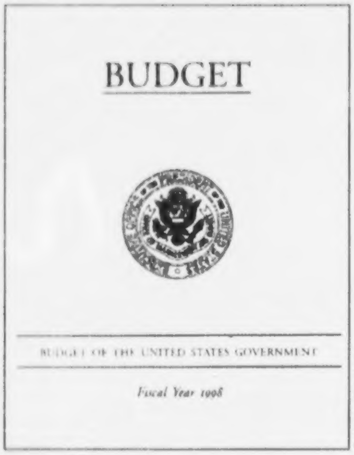
*Note: Discrepancies may occur due to rounding of budget figures

Source: Office of Management and Budget

The Federal Budget Process

Each year, the president and Congress prepare a budget for the federal government. They must decide how much money the government will spend on defense, health care, foreign aid, and hundreds of other federal programs. In addition, lawmakers must determine how much tax revenue the government can expect to receive and how much money it will need to borrow.

The President Prepares a Budget. In the executive branch, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is responsible for drawing up the president's budget for the upcoming fiscal year, which always begins on October 1 and ends on the next September 30. The president relies on the OMB to produce a budget that reflects the priorities of the administration.



Close Up Foundation

The president of the United States is required by law to submit a budget to Congress every February.

After the OMB compiles budgetary requests from the various agencies in the executive branch, it goes to the president for approval. Finally, the president submits the administration's budget to Congress no later than the first Monday in February.

Congress Takes Over. The legislative branch plays a crucial role in the budget process. No federal agency or program can operate without receiving both approval and funding from Congress. Congress grants approval by passing an authorization bill, which states the goals of a program, the rules and regulations that Congress believes are necessary, and the amount of money that the appropriate agency can spend on that program. Then Congress must approve a separate appropriation bill, which actually gives the agency the money to run its programs.

Congress is also responsible for raising money, or revenue, for the federal government. The lawmakers raise money by maintaining or increasing existing taxes and authorizing the Treasury to borrow money to make up for any difference in money collected and money spent.

For many years, subcommittees of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees considered the budget requests of each federal agency separately and appropriated money accordingly. But until all these separate appropriations were added, members of Congress were never sure of what the "bottom line" for the entire budget would be. Critics said Congress should determine the budget total before it started appropriating the money to agencies and departments. As a result, in 1974, a law was passed requiring the House and Senate to approve a joint budget resolution by April of each year. This resolution sets guidelines for how much the government can spend and predicts how much revenue it will take in. Later in the year, the legislators pass a second budget resolution, which reflects any recent changes in the economy and in expected revenue. If appropriations bills already passed by Congress exceed the new limits, Congress draws up a reconciliation bill to bring spending within the limits set by the second budget resolution.

The Battle over the Budget. In 1995, the Republicans and Democrats in Congress and President Clinton used the federal budget as a battlefield in the war between the two parties' visions for the future role of the federal government.

In February 1995, Republicans in Congress considered any further deficit spending unacceptable, and declared that the president's recently submitted budget proposal, which allowed annual deficits of $200 billion until 2002, was, in the words of one senator, "dead on arrival." They immediately began work on a budget resolution to balance the budget by 2002. The Republican proposals included reducing spending on Medicare and turning welfare into block grants for states. Republican lawmakers, however, also wanted to cut taxes.

Two Balanced Budget Proposals. In June 1995, President Clinton took a large step toward the Republican position and offered his own balanced budget plan. However, he preferred to eliminate the deficit

The White House

Throughout 1995 and 1996, President Clinton met with Republican congressional leaders to try to reach an agreement on the federal budget.

over the course of nine instead of seven years, giving the country more time to absorb painful spending cuts. His proposal contained fewer spending reductions in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and environmental protection, but scaled back the tax cuts favored by the Republicans. Neither the president nor Republicans in Congress were willing to back down. In November, President Clinton vetoed the budget approved by Congress.

The Democrats, who supported the veto, accused the Republicans of trying to balance the budget on the backs of low-income Americans, while favoring tax cuts for the affluent. Republicans argued that it was the Democrats, who had controlled Congress for so many years, that had allowed the deficit to get so huge in the first place.

The Government Shuts Down. Without a budget in place when the fiscal year officially began on October 1, the federal government closed down on November 14, 1995, for lack of money. Most federal agencies locked their doors, sending 800,000 of their workers home; national parks and museums across the country were closed to the public. A temporary spending measure ended the shutdown, but with no budget agreement in sight, the funding for the government ran out again and on December 16 the government closed its doors for a second time. This standoff lasted for twenty-one days, until President Clinton and Republicans in Congress signed another temporary spending resolution. Public outcry persuaded both sides to avoid a third shutdown as they resumed negotiations.

Finally, in April 1996, President Clinton and Congress agreed on a budget for FY96, and one year later arrived at a consensus on how to balance the budget by 2002. Highlights of the agreement include $85 billion in tax cuts, $115 billion in Medicare savings, and $34 billion in spending on new initiatives, including expanded health care for low-income children.

CURRENT ISSUES

A Balanced Budget Amendment. In 1995, Congress voted on a balanced budget amendment. Although it was approved by the House of Representatives, the amendment fell short by two votes in the Senate. Congressional Republicans, who led the effort to pass the balanced budget amendment, proposed it again in 1996 but were unable to secure enough votes in the Senate.

Supporters of the balanced budget amendment argue that the president and Congress do not have the courage to make the tough spending cuts and add the tax increases that many believe are necessary to erase the deficit. An amendment, they contend, would legally obligate Congress to pass a balanced budget and eliminate the huge yearly deficits that are driving up the country's long-term debt. Many experts believe that members of the House of Representatives and the Senate have not called for drastic spending cuts and/or tax increases to reduce the deficit out of fear that they will lose reelection. A constitutional requirement,

A TWO-YEAR BUDGET?

Some members of Congress have proposed changing the federal budget from a one-year plan to a two-year plan. They contend that the current process consumes too much congressional time and discourages overhaul of wasteful government programs. However, opponents argue that a two-year budget could delay government response to an unforeseen disaster, such as a recession or a war.

they say, would lessen reprisals against members of Congress for making unpopular spending and revenue decisions.

Opponents contend that a balanced budget amendment is an overly strict measure that could handcuff the federal government when emergency deficit spending is needed, such as in a time of war, natural disaster, or recession. They also believe that such an amendment would inevitably lead to the involvement of the Supreme Court in budget disputes. In addition, critics of the amendment argue that reducing the deficit should be done gradually, not in a relatively few years as called for in the amendment proposal. They say that balancing the budget over a mere seven years would require major tax increases or spending cuts that could harm millions of Americans.

Higher Taxes. Many Americans believe that they pay too much in taxes and have urged members of Congress and the president to give them some relief. In 1995, Republicans called for major tax cuts—a key issue for their party in the 1996 elections. President Clinton and some Democrats in Congress, however, favored smaller "targeted" tax cuts that benefited the middle class. However, many economists say that cutting taxes in a time of large deficits is irresponsible.

THE PRICE IS WRONG?

A 1996 congressional report stated that the statistics used by the federal government to measure inflation, the Consumer Price Index (CPI), are exaggerated by about 1.25 percent each year. Because Social Security benefits and government salaries are adjusted periodically for inflation, this small mistake may have been costing the federal government billions of dollars annually. Some members of Congress believe making the CPI more accurate could help their efforts to balance the budget. However, opponents say that reducing the CPI would hurt low-income and retired Americans who depend on inflation adjustments to keep their earnings at pace with the increasing cost of living.

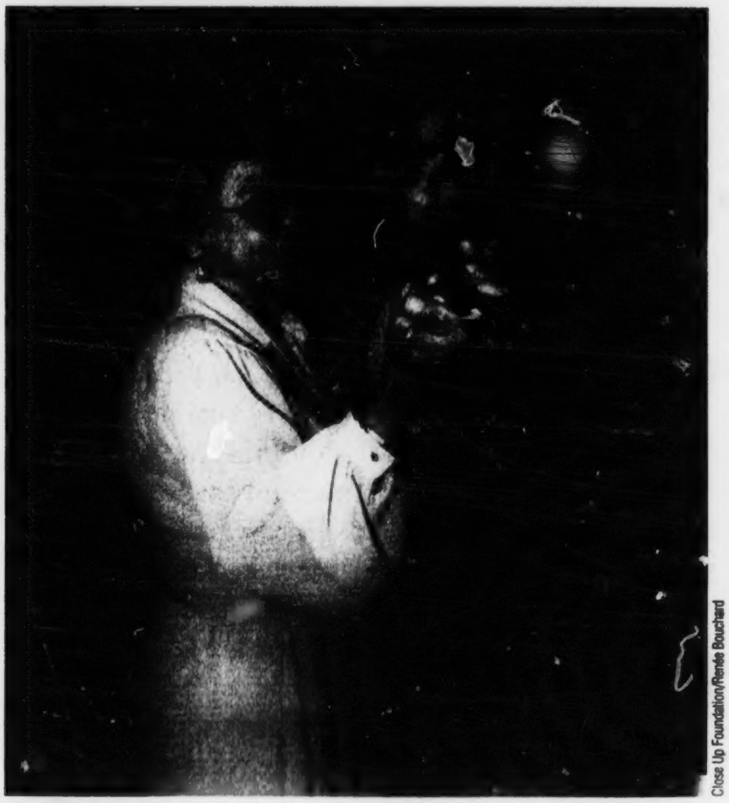
In addition, some economists say that the American people want a "free lunch"—lots of government benefits and services without having to pay for them. According to many public opinion polls, Americans want the government to tackle crime, provide better health care, and improve education, yet resist paying higher taxes for these programs.

Many economists agree that reducing the deficit solely by spending cuts is unfair because it will hurt middle- to lower-income Americans. Such people are the ones who rely the most on government assistance, for student loans, job training, health care, and other programs. Proponents of higher taxes point out that, compared with citizens in other industrialized countries, Americans have a relatively modest tax burden. They favor adopting a small federal sales tax or other revenue increases so that the burden of deficit reduction falls on all Americans. Cutting government spending on programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, and welfare will generally harm the most vulnerable parts of the population. Higher taxes, many argue, can be applied more or less evenly so that all Americans would contribute to deficit reduction.

However, opponents of higher taxes contend that giving more money to a government that runs huge deficits is similar to giving drugs to a drug addict. They say the problem is not that Americans are taxed too little; the government simply spends too much money. Many economists argue that additional tax increases will hurt the economy; they argue that economic growth over the past few years would have been much stronger without the tax increases in President Clinton's 1993 budget. They say that fewer taxes would stimulate economic growth, thereby increasing government revenues to help eliminate the budget deficit. While many Americans concede that the tax burden in the United States is lower than in other countries, they argue that this is precisely the reason why the U.S. economy is the strongest in the world.

THE LINE-ITEM VETO

In January 1997, the Line-Item Veto Act became law. The line-item veto allows the president to cut specific items out of spending bills, instead of being forced to sign or veto an entire bill that contains a few elements he disagrees with. The passage of the line-item veto marked a rare transfer of congressional power to the president.



Social Security has provided financial security to older Americans for sixty years. However, Social Security is expected to go broke early next century, promoting calls for reform to keep the program solvent.

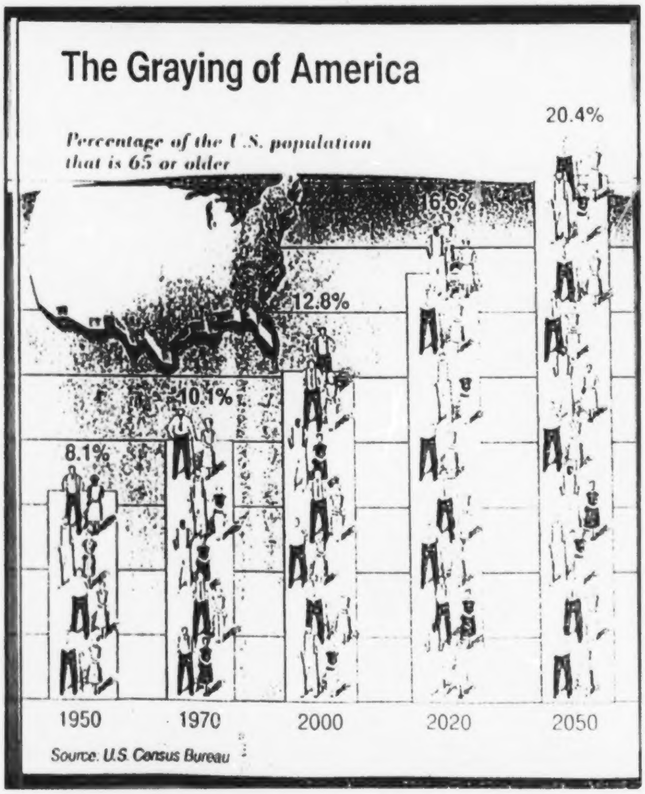
Close Up Foundation/Renee Bouchard

Privatizing Social Security. Social Security has been called a "social contract" between generations. The money taken out of today's workers' paychecks pays for the Social Security benefits of today's retirees. However, by the year 2040, more than a quarter of the U.S. population will be over age 65. Consequently, fewer and fewer American workers will be contributing percentages of their earnings to pay for an increasing number of retirees receiving benefits. This demographic change could, it is claimed, bankrupt Social Security before today's young people retire.

Lawmakers have generally resisted proposing changes to Social Security, fearing older Americans would register their disapproval at the polls. But recent predictions that the system will soon run out of money have prompted some members of Congress to suggest changes in Social Security. One idea that generated a lot of attention in 1996 was privatization—turning Social Security over to private companies and requiring individuals to invest the funds in the stock market. Some members of Congress favor some form of privatization.

Supporters of privatizing Social Security point to the success of the social security system in Chile, where workers decide where the 10 percent deducted from their monthly paycheck should be invested and are able to transfer the funds between investments if they choose. Many economists believe that privatizing Social Security would relieve the government of the financial and administrative burdens of providing retirement benefits. They also contend that Americans should have the freedom to choose where and how their earnings are invested because they, on balance, would do a better job of managing their money than the government has done.

Opponents of a privatization plan say it would put the retirement funds of Americans at risk by subjecting them to the uncertainty of the stock market. If the stock market were to decline substantially in value, millions of Americans could be left without any means of support in their retirement years. They argue that most Americans do not know enough about the stock market to choose prudent investments and that the government would do a better job of keeping their money safe. They also say that diverting Social Security funds to private investments now will make the government unable to pay for current retiree benefits. Moreover, opponents of privatization contend that low-income Americans will not have



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Some economists believe that this increase in the number of retirees could bankrupt Social Security and Medicare unless Congress reforms the programs.

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enough to live on when they retire because their investments will not be adjusted for inflation.

OUTLOOK

Many lawmakers and observers believe that the federal government could be on the verge of ending its long era of deficit spending. The contentious debate between Congress and President Clinton over their competing visions for a balanced budget was a signal to some that a new era of fiscal responsibility in government was around the corner. Others, however, are not so sure. They believe that the American people, many of whom want a balanced budget—are unaware of the potentially painful spending cuts in popular programs needed to eliminate the deficit. However, most economists agree that, in the long term, a balanced budget would strengthen the U.S. economy. Therefore, many citizens hope that the president and Congress will follow through on their 1997 balanced budget agreement and see to it that the next generation of Americans is not burdened with a $7 trillion national debt.

THE DEBATE: THE BUDGET DEFICIT

Congress Should Pass a Balanced Budget Amendment.

PRO: A balanced budget amendment is necessary because the president and Congress do not have the political courage to make the difficult decisions needed to balance the budget. Unless the deficit is eliminated, future generations of Americans will inherit a huge national debt—one that will damage the economy. A constitutional amendment would force lawmakers to end the government's legacy of debt.

CON: Most everyone agrees that the deficit needs to be reduced, but a constitutional amendment is not the way to do it. A balanced budget amendment limits the power of the federal government to respond to emergencies, such as economic recessions and natural disasters. In addition, having a balanced budget in the Constitution would inevitably involve the Supreme Court in budget disputes.

Congress Should Raise Taxes to Help Reduce the Deficit.

PRO: The American people want government benefits such as health care, Social Security, and better education. Yet they also want a lower deficit and no more taxes. Americans want a free lunch. Having higher taxes as a part of a balanced budget plan is the only fair way of balancing the budget. Relying solely on spending cuts would unduly harm vulnerable Americans who depend on government assistance.

CON: The tax burden in the United States discourages investment and undermines economic growth. Increasing taxes to balance the budget would suffocate the economy, causing higher unemployment, a weaker tax base, and, therefore, a larger budget deficit. The United States has a huge deficit and debt not because the people are undertaxed but because the government spends too much.

Social Security Should Be Privatized.

PRO: American workers should be allowed to invest their earnings as they see fit. The government has done a poor job managing Social Security and will not be able to cope with the dramatically growing number of retirees in the future. Allowing Americans to invest up to 10 percent of their paychecks in stocks or bonds for their retirement will offer them a more stable future and relieve the government of a financial burden it cannot, and should not, bear.

CON: Because the stock market could fluctuate, privatizing Social Security is risky. Many Americans do not have the expertise needed to invest their earnings wisely. Low-income Americans would suffer under this plan because their retirement funds would not be adjusted for inflation. The government has a responsibility to pay Social Security benefits to current retirees and would be unable to meet that promise if earnings were diverted to private investments.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

The first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution are known as the Bill of Rights. Added to the Constitution in 1791, these amendments were designed to protect individual freedoms and limit the power of the federal government. Included in the Bill of Rights are promises that give Americans the freedom to express themselves, that protect persons accused of crimes, and that limit the power of the national government. Although the Bill of Rights is the major source of constitutional rights, other sections of the Constitution also grant rights.

Many current controversial issues—such as the death penalty and euthanasia—stem from conflicts over how the Bill of Rights should be interpreted. Much of the wording in the Constitution and its amendments is general; therefore, many Americans disagree about how this language applies to certain situations.

Ultimately, it is the responsibility of the Supreme Court of the United States to translate the meaning of the Constitution. Some people believe that the Court should interpret the Constitution strictly by upholding the literal meanings of its authors. Yet others think that the job of the Supreme Court is to apply the spirit of the ideas expressed in the Constitution to modern-day situations. Sometimes the Court must decide cases in which both sides claim to be exercising their constitutional rights. The rulings of the Court determine whether government can enact laws to limit, regulate, or even forbid certain behavior.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should abortion remain legal?
- Should moments of silence in public schools be permitted?
- Should euthanasia be allowed?

BACKGROUND

Guaranteeing Individual Rights

The Constitution of the United States, written in 1787, needed to be ratified (approved) by nine of the existing thirteen states to become law. Many states ratified the document only under the provision that Congress would soon add amendments listing individual rights. James Madison, a member of Congress from Virginia, wrote the proposals from which these amendments eventually emerged. In December 1791, ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, were ratified by the states and became part of the Constitution.

Although more than 200 years old, many of the ideas expressed in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights are still relevant today. In particular, the following issues have been the center of many famous cases argued before the U.S. Supreme Court and continue to provoke public debate today.

Library of Congress

James Madison sponsored the first ten amendments to the Constitution. These amendments, which became known as the Bill of Rights, outlined many of the individual freedoms guaranteed to Americans.

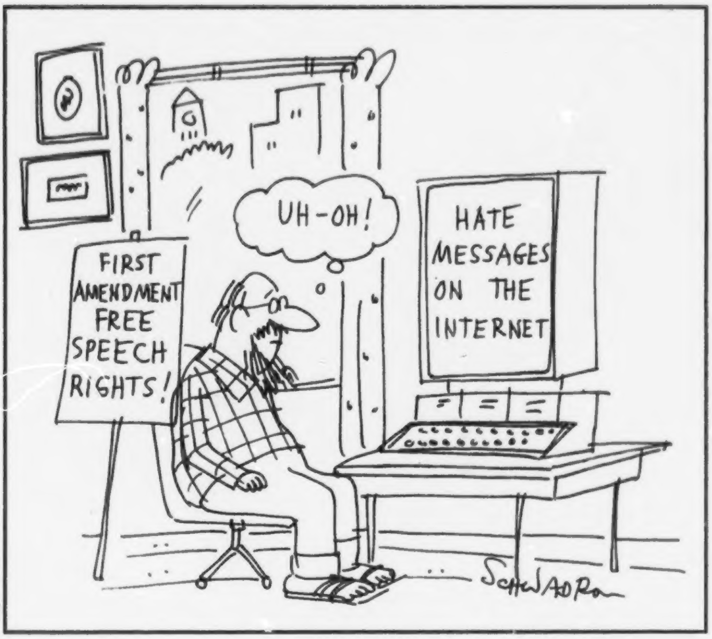
Freedom of Religion. The First Amendment guarantees Americans the freedoms of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. The First Amendment prevents the government from making laws to establish a national religion or prohibit people from practicing their own religions. Thus, it separates religion and government. However, many Americans disagree about how to maintain this separation without interfering with a person's right to practice religion. Some Americans are separationists and believe that to protect religious liberty, the line between religion and government should not be crossed. Others are accommodationists and believe that government should make allowances for the long religious tradition in American society.

The Supreme Court has decided many cases involving the freedom of religion, ruling on both sides of this issue. For example, in *Allegheny County v. Greater Pittsburgh ACLU* (1989), the Court ruled that a local government could display a Christmas tree and a Hanukkah menorah as part of a salute to liberty, because they were not endorsing either religion, but rather representing cultural diversity. Opening state and federal legislative sessions with a prayer has also been upheld. However, the Court has outlawed some religious practices in public schools, such as official prayers at the beginning of the school day or at graduation ceremonies.

Freedom of Expression. The First Amendment also forbids Congress from making laws that prevent Americans from speaking or writing what they wish. However, the courts have ruled that these rights of free expression are not unlimited. For example, the First Amendment does not allow speech or writing that makes false statements about another's character, specifically plans the violent overthrow of the government, or incites riot. However, the amendment does allow citizens to hold peaceful meetings and public protests asking the government to correct a wrong.

In the last few decades, the Supreme Court has ruled on many cases involving freedom of speech. The Court is sometimes asked to decide whether unpopular speech should be protected in the same manner as popular speech. For example, in *Texas v. Johnson* (1989), the justices ruled that burning the American flag was protected by the First Amendment. In *R.A.V. v. St. Paul* (1992), the Court overturned a St. Paul, Minnesota, city ordinance that outlawed the display of racist symbols such as a Nazi swastika. People who support rulings like these say that even offensive speech should be protected, so that the government cannot censor unpopular views. Some Americans disagree with these rulings, saying that it should be constitutional to outlaw certain types of inflammatory or hurtful speech.

Free Speech on the Internet. The dramatic growth of the Internet, a system that connects more than 10 million computers worldwide, has provoked new


FIRST AMENDMENT FREE SPEECH RIGHTS!
UH-OH!
HATE MESSAGES ON THE INTERNET

Harley L. Schwadron

debates about the right to free speech. Because it enables nearly instantaneous access of information and reference material, the Internet has been heralded for its educational and communications potential. However, the system has also been used to distribute pornographic materials on-line, many of which can be accessed by underage computer users.

In February 1996, President Bill Clinton signed the Communications Decency Act, outlawing the transmission of sexually explicit materials to minors via the Internet. By June 1996, however, a three-judge panel appointed specifically to oversee the bill declared the law unconstitutional, saying that it amounted to censorship and violated the constitutional guarantee of free speech. Proponents of the law argue that the government has a responsibility to protect children from material that could be disturbing. The Supreme Court agreed to review the ruling in 1997.

The Right to Bear Arms. The Second Amendment protects "the right of the people to keep and bear arms." After the American Revolution, the first Congress wanted to ensure that people could form armed militias if needed. One issue sparked by the wording of this amendment is whether it gives individuals the right to own any gun for any reason. Currently, federal laws do prohibit private ownership of certain types of firearms, but Americans own more than 200 million legal rifles, shotguns, and handguns. Individuals who collect guns or use them for sport often cite this "right to bear arms" when criticizing gun laws. Lawmakers who support restrictions on gun ownership say gun control laws are needed to stop gun violence in the United States, and the right to bear arms is limited to state militias, not private individuals.

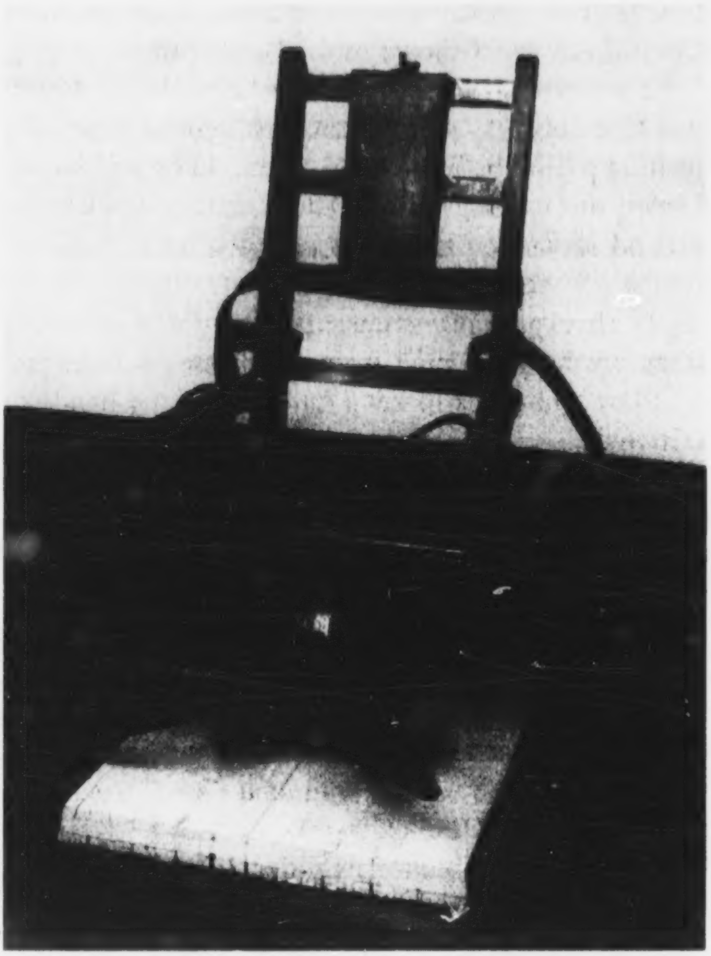
Amendments Protecting Suspected Criminals. The Bill of Rights guarantees that the government will treat fairly any persons accused of crimes. The following amendments address the rights of suspected criminals.

- The Fourth Amendment protects persons from "unreasonable searches and seizures."
- The Fifth Amendment protects suspects from being forced to testify against themselves; protects defendants from double jeopardy (being retried for crimes for which they were found not guilty); and prevents the government from taking a person's life, property, or freedom except in ways specified by law.
- The Sixth Amendment guarantees the right to a "speedy and public trial" with a jury, the right to an attorney, and the rights to confront adverse witnesses and obtain favorable ones.
- The Eighth Amendment forbids "excessive bail" and "cruel and unusual punishment."

THE *MIRANDA* RULINGS

To protect criminal suspects from police coercion, the Supreme Court ruled that suspects in police custody must be informed of their legal rights before being questioned. In *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), the Court established guidelines to require that a suspect be informed of the right to remain silent and the right to an attorney. If police do not inform defendants of their rights, evidence gained from this questioning cannot be used in court.

Unenumerated Rights. The Ninth Amendment prevents the government from denying rights not specifically mentioned in the Constitution. Acknowledging that no listing of rights can be truly complete, this



Virginia Department of Corrections, David Bottoms, Public Affairs

Supporters of the death penalty argue that it deters crime and is fair punishment in some murder cases. Opponents believe that the death penalty is "cruel and unusual punishment" and therefore unconstitutional.

amendment states that rights not listed are "retained by the people." For example, the Supreme Court has recognized the right to privacy, the right to vote, and the right to travel, even though they are not specifically mentioned in the Constitution. However, the Court has usually based such unenumerated rights on the Fourteenth Amendment, not the Ninth Amendment.

Federalism. In a federalist system, power is shared by both the national and state governments. The Tenth Amendment states that powers not given to the federal government, nor prohibited to the states by the Constitution, are reserved for the states or to the people. This amendment is often cited when making cases for stronger states' rights and decreasing the power of the federal government. A recent example is the Handgun Control Act (also known as the Brady bill).

The Brady Bill. In 1994, a law known as the Handgun Control Act required states to impose a five-day waiting period before a handgun could be purchased. During this waiting period, states would perform background checks on buyers to uncover, for example, a felony conviction or an outstanding warrant. If the buyer's background was unsatisfactory, he or she would therefore be prohibited from purchasing a handgun. The law's intent is to keep guns out of the hands of criminals.

In December 1996, however, local law enforcement officials from Montana and Arizona challenged the law before the Supreme Court, arguing that it violated states' rights guaranteed by the Tenth Amendment. They argued that the federal government was overstepping its bounds by requiring states to perform and pay for the background check system. Supporters of the law disputed this rationale, pointing out that the background check would require only "minimal effort" from state officials and should therefore be enforced. The U.S. Supreme Court will ultimately decide which side will benefit from the words of the Tenth Amendment.

Equal Protection and Due Process. Although the Fourteenth Amendment is not part of the Bill of

THE EXCLUSIONARY RULE

Generally, before a police officer can search a place or a person, the officer must first secure a warrant by presenting to a judge specific justification for a search. The officer must also produce a list of items to be seized and their locations. Based on this information, the judge may issue or deny a warrant. Courts have found that the only effective way to enforce the Fourth Amendment is to exclude any illegally seized evidence from trials. This court action is known as the exclusionary rule. Excluding such evidence sometimes results in the failure to convict a suspect—or even in the dismissal of charges—for lack of proof.

Rights, it is often used to protect the rights of individuals. One part of this amendment has been interpreted to mean that state and local governments are required to protect most of the guarantees listed in the first ten amendments. Originally, the Bill of Rights only applied to the federal government, but the Fourteenth Amendment, which was added to the Constitution after the Civil War, extends most protections to the actions of state and local governments as well.

Another part of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits racial and sexual discrimination. The amendment has also been interpreted by the Supreme Court to protect a person's right to die and a woman's right to have an abortion.

DEATH PENALTY APPEALS

In June 1996, the Supreme Court upheld a law passed by Congress that would limit the number of times a death sentence may be appealed. In the past, executions were often postponed as inmates on death row continually appealed their sentences, sometimes dozens of times. Supporters of the death penalty argued that capital punishment had become an ineffective deterrent to crime because the sentences were rarely carried out. Others contend that, without the right to unlimited appeals, prisoners may be wrongfully executed.

CURRENT ISSUES

Abortion. Abortion has been and still is one of the nation's most controversial issues. In its 1973 landmark decision in *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court ruled that a woman has a constitutional right to an abortion. The Court based its ruling on two findings. First, the justices found that a woman's right to privacy allows her to end a pregnancy. Although the word "privacy" does not appear in the Constitution, the Supreme Court had ruled in an earlier case that such a right does exist. Second, the Court said that a fetus is not a person and thus is not protected under the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee that "no person" can be deprived of life without a fair trial. In effect, the *Roe v. Wade* decision struck down state laws forbidding abortion during the first three months—or trimester—of pregnancy, but the decision did allow states to prohibit abortion during the last three months, when the fetus could be capable of living outside the womb.

The Court's decision gave rise to an antiabortion movement that called for states to find ways to restrict abortion and for the Supreme Court to reverse *Roe v. Wade*. In the 1989 case of *Webster v. Reproductive*

Those Americans who believe that abortion should be outlawed often hold public protests to express their views. Oftentimes these protests will spur counterprotests, like the one pictured here, by people who believe abortion should remain a legal procedure.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Health Services, the Supreme Court gave states greater power to restrict abortions, causing both proponents and critics of legalized abortion to focus their efforts on state legislatures.

In *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (1992), the Supreme Court created new criteria for determining the legality of abortion, but stopped short of overturning the *Roe* ruling. The Court ruled that as long as they do not place an "undue burden" on the woman's right to an abortion, the states can regulate access to the procedure as they choose. The new concept of "undue burden" gave more power to the states to limit access to abortions and replaced the trimester framework of *Roe,* which had used the age of the fetus to determine when it was legal for a woman to have an abortion.

Opponents of legalized abortion believe that human life begins at conception and that aborting a pregnancy is akin to murder. They say that *Roe v. Wade* gives women the legal right to commit this crime. Foes of abortion also contend that it has led to sexual promiscuity in American society—especially among teenagers, some of whom may view abortion as an acceptable means of birth control. Some opponents of legalized abortion also say that it is harmful to women's health. They cite studies that show high rates of hemorrhage, infection, and complications in subsequent pregnancies for women who have had the procedure.

Those who believe that abortion should remain legal say that in a free society the government should not take away a woman's right to choose to terminate a pregnancy. They argue that abortion is a personal choice—not the business of government. In addition, abortion rights activists argue that medical experts do not agree on when human life begins; therefore, abortion cannot be considered murder. They dispute the idea that large numbers of women view abortion as a means of birth control and instead describe it as a last resort for women in desperate situations. They also contend that legalized abortion protects women by allowing them to have qualified physicians perform the procedure—preventing them from using unsafe and unsanitary methods to terminate unwanted pregnancies.

Religion and Public Schools. One of the most divisive constitutional rights issues involves the separation of church and state. The First Amendment reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." This amendment protects the right of citizens to practice any religion they choose and forbids government-sanctioned religion. Many Americans disagree about the proper division between religion and government.

Over the past few decades, the main battleground for this debate has been the nation's public schools. In *Engel v. Vitale* (1962), the Supreme Court prohibited school-sponsored prayer in public schools on the grounds that it violated the separation of church and state. In a series of related decisions, the Supreme Court has continually ruled that public schools cannot sponsor any kind of religious exercise—be it devotional Bible readings, prayer in the classroom, or prayer at graduation ceremonies. Even though the Court has never banned prayer in public schools if it is done voluntarily by individual students, some believe the separation of church and state has gone too far.

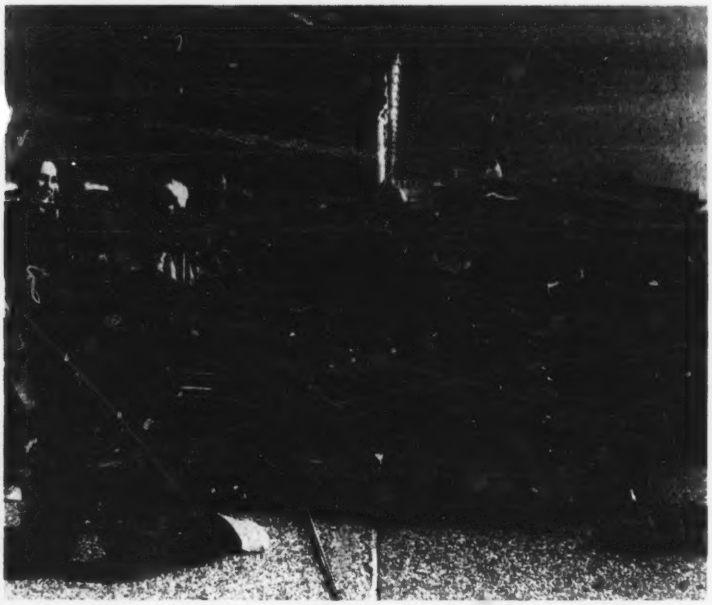
Some Americans believe that allowing a "moment of silence" or "moment of reflection" is an acceptable constitutional compromise on the school prayer issue.

This practice of requiring students to take a few quiet moments away from studies or activities during a set time in the school day is becoming more common. However, in *Wallace v. Jaffree* (1985), the Supreme Court struck down an Alabama law that required a moment of silence in public schools. The Court ruled that the Alabama legislature intended to promote prayer and endorse religion, although the Court did not overturn moment of silence laws in general. Many recent state laws requiring moments of silence have not suggested that the time be used for formal prayer. A number of states, including Georgia, Massachusetts, Tennessee, and South Carolina, allow these types of moments of silence in school.

Many Americans think that moments of silence can instill discipline in students by encouraging quiet thought or preparation for school. Most supporters of moments of silence say that allowing time for reflection is not officially organized school prayer, because teachers tell students to use the time however they want. Moreover, supporters argue that if students want to use the time for silent prayer, the Free Speech and Free Exercise Clauses of the Constitution allow them to do so. Some even argue that the social problems that have plagued public schools in the last few decades could be alleviated by giving students time to reflect or pray during the school day.

Critics of moments of silence believe that such laws violate the freedom of religion outlined in the First Amendment. They believe that some students might feel pressured to pray by their classmates if a certain time for silence is set aside each day. Opponents of moments of silence also say that it is not the place of government to set the manner or time of prayer. Such practices, they argue, are unfair to religious minorities and nonreligious students who may not wish to pray at that hour or place—or at all.

The Right to Die. In recent years, debates have ensued over the right of terminally and chronically ill patients to end their lives. In the case of *Cruzan v. Director, Missouri Department of Health* (1990), the Supreme Court



Archive Photos/Reuters/Mike Theiler

Some Americans believe that doctor-assisted suicide should be legalized to allow terminally ill patients to end their own lives in a dignified, pain-free manner. Opponents say suicide is wrong and legalizing it in some cases will only invite abuses of the practice.

determined that the right to refuse medical treatment was guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. As long as there was "clear and convincing evidence" of a patient's wishes, life support systems could be turned off at the family's request. Many states now recognize living wills, a document in which patients may express the types of medical treatment they do not wish to receive in the event of a serious illness. Recently, however, some terminally ill patients have sought a doctor's assistance to end their lives before they become severely incapacitated. Although polls show that nearly 70 percent of the American public favors legalizing doctor-assisted suicide (euthanasia), it has been outlawed in forty-one states.

In January 1997, the Supreme Court heard two cases in which terminally ill patients challenged their states' laws prohibiting euthanasia. In *Washington v. Glucksberg,* attorneys argued that outlawing doctor-assisted suicide violates the Fourteenth Amendment because it deprives the patient's "liberty" to choose the manner and time of death without "due process of law." In *Vacco v. Quill,* lawyers contended that a New York law denies "equal protection" of terminally ill patients by allowing those on life support systems to choose to die (the *Cruzan* decision), while prohibiting terminally ill patients who are not hooked up to machines from doing the same.

Proponents of legal euthanasia say that it would allow terminally ill patients to die with dignity, without prolonging pain and suffering. Right-to-die supporters argue that patients are being kept alive long after their quality of life has irreversibly deteriorated. They say that permitting doctors to assist in patients' suicides, and establishing guidelines to regulate their efforts, would enable patients and their families to make informed decisions about what is best for them.

Opponents argue that doctor-assisted suicides allow too many opportunities for misuse of the procedure. For instance, they say, older patients and patients with little money might be pressured to choose to die once they become a financial burden on their families. Some people oppose the right to die because they believe that humans should not "play God" and try to decide when it is acceptable for someone to end his or her life. Some doctors oppose the idea because they say it is against their medical code of ethics to actively cause a patient's death.

OUTLOOK

Most citizens view the United States as the freest society in the world because its people have so many rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The Supreme Court, through its rulings, defines and clarifies the meanings of these documents. Court rulings also determine how Americans can exercise their rights, whether or how much the government can regulate or limit those rights, and when the rights of one individual or group should be limited because they are infringing upon the rights of someone else. Americans also have the right to amend the Constitution if they disagree with a decision of the Supreme Court or if they think additional rights need to be extended to the people. This interplay between Supreme Court rulings and the will of the American people shapes the interpretation of the Constitution and its role in American democracy.

THE DEBATE: CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Abortion Should Remain Legal.

PRO: A woman should have the right to choose to terminate her pregnancy without government interference. Abortion is not murder—no one has proved that life begins at conception. Most women do not view abortion as birth control; rather, they see it as a last resort in desperate situations. Legalized abortion protects women's health by allowing competent doctors to perform the procedure under safe conditions.

CON: Because human life begins at conception, having an abortion is the same as committing murder. Too many men and women view abortion as a means of birth control, an attitude that has led to increased sexual promiscuity. Abortions can also cause health problems and have often complicated future pregnancies. The government must protect the rights of unborn children who cannot protect themselves.

Moments of Silence in Public Schools Should Be Permitted.

PRO: Moments of silence are periods of reflection that do not promote religion or prayer in school. They encourage thought and help students prepare for school. Students can spend the time quietly doing whatever they want, and will pray if they choose to do so. Schools and society would benefit if more students used this time for reflection and prayer. The freedom to pray voluntarily in school is guaranteed by the Free Speech and Free Exercise Clauses of the Constitution.

CON: Moments of silence laws attempt to introduce officially sanctioned prayer into public schools. Some students may feel pressured to pray by their classmates. Individual students already have the right to pray silently whenever they want. Moreover, through moments of silence, the government dictates the manner and time of prayer, which may not be appropriate for some religious minorities. Moments of silence compromise religious freedom and force prayer on nonreligious students.

Euthanasia Should Be Allowed.

PRO: The right to die is a human and constitutional right. Today's medical technology can keep people alive in a vegetative or severely impaired state for indefinite periods of time. Doctor-assisted suicides spare terminally and chronically ill patients prolonged pain and suffering. Patients should be able to die with dignity, and they should be able to do so with the legal assistance of a qualified doctor.

CON: It is unethical for doctors, or anyone else, to end the life of another human being under any circumstances. Euthanasia could lead to killing unwanted older, sick, and disabled people. Uninsured patients will be pressured to choose death to avoid being a financial burden. In addition, patients are sometimes misdiagnosed with terminal illnesses, which could cause their families to make misinformed decisions.

CRIME AND DRUGS

Crime touches the lives of most Americans, regardless of age, race, gender, or income. Even if someone has never been a victim of crime, fear of being a victim often affects how that person lives. That fear has caused many Americans to change their lifestyles. The threat of domestic terrorism has added another cause for concern.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, "crimes against the person"—murders, assaults, and robberies—increased in the United States. However, in October 1996, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported that the violent crime rate hit its lowest level since 1989. Law enforcement officials credit this decline to a number of factors: better neighborhood policing, stricter jail sentences, and a less violent drug trade. However, despite the encouraging statistics, about 1.8 million violent crimes are still committed every year in the United States.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Do gun control laws reduce violent crime?
- Should mandatory sentencing laws be changed?
- Should the war on drugs stress prevention or enforcement?

Fighting crime is an enormous task because so many economic and societal factors contribute to lawlessness, including poverty, splintered families, drugs, unemployment, and availability of firearms. Consequently, policymakers at all levels of government disagree on where to focus their anticrime policies: prevention or law enforcement. Many Americans believe that stricter punishment and stronger law enforcement will reduce crime; others say that it is most important to attack the underlying social problems that often lead to crime.

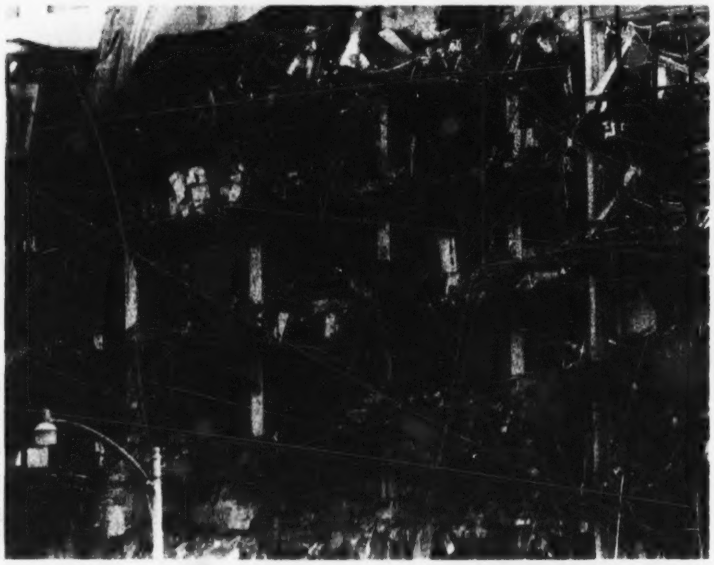
BACKGROUND

Crime in America

Violence in America. Crime affects a large segment of the population, as an estimated 13.8 million crimes are committed annually in the United States. More than 90 percent of these are crimes against property, such as burglary or car theft; the rest are violent crimes. Every year, about 1.8 million violent crimes occur. According to some polls, many Americans are afraid to walk in their neighborhoods after dark.

Although violent crime continues to be a top concern of many citizens, government statistics indicate that recent anticrime efforts are having positive results. In the first six months of 1996, for example, the number of violent crimes (murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) dropped 5 percent below the same period in 1995. Murders fell 7 percent. Law enforcement officials attribute this decline to a combination of factors, including tougher sentencing laws, more effective community policing, gun control laws, and declining unemployment.

Domestic Terrorism. In addition to fears about "traditional" crimes, some Americans now worry about



Reuters/Jeff Mitchell/Archive Photos

On April 19, 1995, a terrorist bomb destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City (shown here). It was the deadliest terrorist attack ever in the United States.

domestic terrorism. Many citizens perceive it as a growing threat. The American public's attention was caught by one of the first major terrorist acts in the United States—the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City, which killed six people. Even more shocking was the April 1995 bombing of a federal government building in Oklahoma City. One hundred sixty-eight people died and hundreds more were injured in this, the worst bombing in the history of the United States.

In an effort to prevent more terrorist attacks, officials have requested broader authority to tap telephone wires, track computer usage, and monitor the activities of suspicious groups. However, critics argue that many of these requests conflict with freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. Considering antiterrorist legislation in 1996, policymakers debated whether Americans were concerned enough to give up some of their civil liberties. Two more incidents in July 1996—a pipe bomb explosion during the Olympic Games in Atlanta and the thus-far unexplained crash of a TWA airplane over Long Island, New York—revived those issues.

TEEN CURFEWS

Since the beginning of this decade, about 1,000 U.S. cities and towns have imposed curfews to reduce juvenile crime. However, law enforcement officials say curfews can only be successful if cities provide enough resources to enforce them. Surveys conducted by the U.S. Justice Department and U.S. Conference of Mayors reveal that curfews often, but not always, reduce juvenile crime. Critics of teen curfews argue they are short-term solutions that do not solve the underlying problems of restoring family discipline or providing young people with better job opportunities and schools.

What Causes Crime? Criminologists and lawmakers have argued over the causes of violent crime for decades. Some familiar with the issue say the roots of crime are unemployment, poverty, and drug abuse. Others contend that the judicial system is failing to keep violent criminals off the streets. Many believe that because Americans are so divided over the causes, confronting the problem effectively is difficult.

Poverty. In 1995, there were 36.4 million people living below the poverty line in the United States. It is said that unemployed and low-income people are more likely to be depressed and frustrated and therefore more apt to commit violent or antisocial acts. This appears to be especially true in low-income urban areas,

Archive Photos/Reuters/Sam Mircovich

Although the violent crime rate went down in 1995 and 1996, many Americans' fear of crime in their neighborhoods has not subsided.

where homicide is the leading cause of death among black men between the ages of 25 and 45. Many people believe that young African-American men in the inner city have little hope for the future and, therefore, turn to crime.

Millions of Guns. Law enforcement officials cite the availability of guns and the willingness of people to use them as major factors in the high crime rate. Americans own more than 200 million firearms, including handguns, rifles, and shotguns. Although purchases are regulated by law, people can buy guns illegally with relative ease.

In 1995, there were about 11,000 handgun-related homicides in the United States, down from 12,000 in 1994. Some attribute this decline in part to the passage of the Handgun Control Act (also known as the Brady bill), which mandates a five-day waiting period for anyone buying a handgun. In 1994, Congress also approved a ban on the manufacture, sale, and possession of nineteen types of semiautomatic assault weapons.

The Role of Drugs. Most experts say that the sale and use of illegal drugs, particularly heroin and cocaine, contribute greatly to violent crime. Illegal drugs are addictive, and many drug users commit crimes to support their drug habits. In addition, drug trafficking—the business of manufacturing and selling drugs—is very lucrative. Shootings and murders are

Although some Americans say gun control laws help reduce violent crime, others say these laws take guns out of the hands of law-abiding citizens. Many people use firearms to protect their homes.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

commonplace in the drug trade, as drug dealers vie for territory and money.

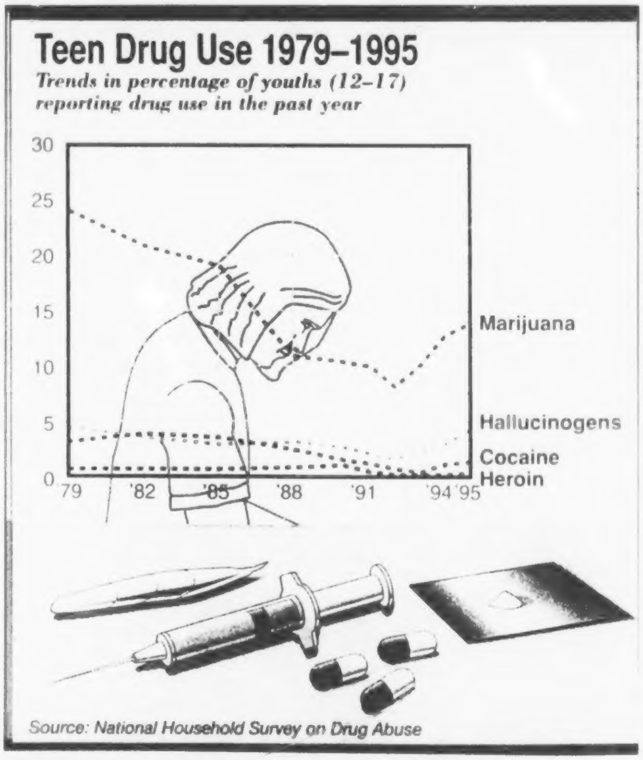
Fighting Drugs. The debate over drugs became heated during the 1996 presidential campaign, when government statistics revealed that teenage drug use had doubled since 1992. Republican candidate Bob Dole accused the Clinton administration of neglecting the fight against drugs. President Clinton countered by claiming that his administration was as committed as ever to winning the fight.

Some people say illegal drugs are flooding into the country because of sophisticated production and trafficking methods used in foreign nations—the "supply side" theory. Others counter that drugs find their way into the United States because there is a huge demand. These differences in theory are important; each requires a different solution. The "supply siders" advocate fighting the drug war abroad and at U.S. borders. Those who believe the "demand" theory advocate spending money on prevention and education programs at home. Others think that any viable antidrug effort must be a combination of both approaches.

Fighting Crime. In 1994, Congress passed and President Bill Clinton signed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, which provided $30 billion over six years for crime control. Major provisions of the new law included funding to add 100,000 police officers nationwide; a ten-year ban on certain semiautomatic assault weapons; an expansion of the death penalty to cover additional federal crimes; and approval to impose a mandatory life sentence on any criminal convicted of three felonies for violent crimes (a provision known as "three strikes and you're out").

CURRENT ISSUES

Gun Control. Americans own more than 200 million handguns, rifles, and shotguns. The widespread availability of firearms and the high number of gun-related deaths have prompted some individuals and groups to organize efforts to control the sale and purchase of firearms. However, others believe that the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guarantees citizens' right to own guns.



Teen Drug Use 1979–1995

Trends in percentage of youths (12–17) reporting drug use in the past year

Source: National Household Survey on Drug Abuse

Many Americans are concerned about rising drug use among teenagers. Observers think such youths are more likely to drop out of school and and turn to other crimes.

Pointing out that the majority of homicides are committed with firearms, gun control advocates assert that violent crime cannot be curbed unless handgun ownership is further regulated or banned. Proponents of gun control want the government to, at least, require owners to register their handguns and to perform background checks on all potential handgun buyers to ensure that they do not have criminal records. Some want to limit the number of guns an individual can buy within a certain time period; others want to ban the sale of handguns completely. Gun control proponents also believe that the Second Amendment does not rule out tighter gun regulation because they say the amendment protects the right of a militia (the National Guard), not private citizens, to have guns.

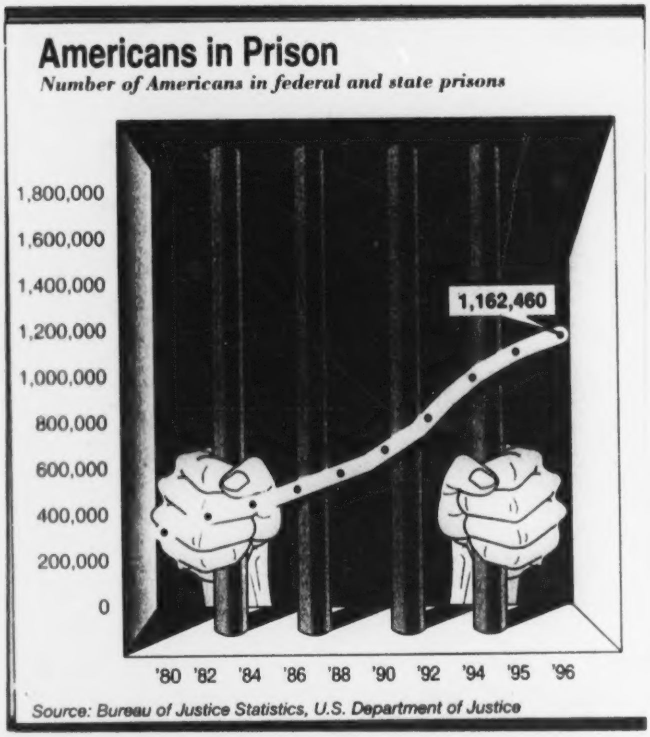
Opponents of gun control, led by the National Rifle Association (NRA), argue that the Second Amendment guarantees all citizens, not just those in the militia, the right to "keep and bear arms." Although the NRA supports instant computer checks of gun buyers as an alternative to waiting periods, gun control opponents fear that requiring licenses to own certain kinds of firearms may be the first step toward government confiscation of all guns. They argue that restricting gun ownership would not keep criminals from obtaining guns and would not prevent crime. Gun control opponents say that criminals do not purchase guns legally, but instead steal them or buy them from illegal dealers. They also warn that, ultimately, gun control could disarm the law-abiding general public and place them at the mercy of well-armed criminals. Furthermore, if citizens' liberties under the Second Amendment are limited, some Americans argue, other constitutional rights could be restricted as well.

DRUG LEGALIZATION

In 1996, one magazine stated that the war against drugs was lost and the government should legalize many drugs. Supporters of legalization argue that the cost of the drug war is higher than the licensing of drugs and intensive education efforts would be. Many Americans, however, disagree, contending that legalizing drugs would encourage more people to experiment with drugs and, therefore, increase the number of addicts. Nevertheless, in November 1996, California and Arizona residents voted in favor of propositions to make marijuana legal for medicinal use.

Mandatory Sentencing. Between 1985 and 1995, the number of state and federal prison inmates more than doubled. As of June 30, 1996, there were 1,060,634 state prison inmates and 103,722 federal inmates. Overall, the United States locks up a greater share of its population than does any other nation.

There are many reasons for this substantial increase in the U.S. prison population. Larger police forces are solving more crimes, and judges are more likely to impose mandatory prison sentences for first-time criminals, particularly drug offenders. Sometimes, judges have no choice in handing down these sentences because they are bound by mandatory sentencing laws. These laws—most of which were passed in recent years—obligate judges to sentence criminals to at least a minimum term in prison. Many criminologists expect prisons to become even more overcrowded since the "three strikes and you're out" policy, which imposes mandatory life sentences for anyone convicted of three felonies, took effect in 1995.



Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice

The U.S. crime rate remains high even though more people are imprisoned each year. The United States has a higher percentage of people in jail than any other country in the world.

Critics argue that sentencing a high number of convicted felons to mandatory jail terms is too expensive and does little to reduce violent crime in the United States. They point out that, although many mandatory sentencing laws have been on the books for a decade, the crime rate has remained high. Many specialists argue that prison overcrowding will inevitably lead to early parole for many repeat violent criminals. Some opponents call for truth-in-sentencing laws. Such laws, which some states have implemented, reduce sentences for nonviolent crimes to make more room in prison so murderers and rapists can serve their full sentences.

Supporters of mandatory sentencing argue that these laws deter would-be criminals from committing crimes because they know they face time in jail if caught. Many law enforcement officials believe that mandatory sentencing laws have worked and contend that the crime rate would be much higher if these laws had never been implemented. Advocates of mandatory sentencing believe U.S. taxpayers are willing to allow the government to spend their tax money locking up criminals and building more prisons.

Drug Strategies. In 1996, the results of a survey by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services showed a disturbing trend—that drug use among young people was increasing. The survey found that almost 11 percent of 12- to 17-year-olds admitted to using drugs in the month preceding the survey, double the percentage reported in 1992. As a result, illegal drugs became a major issue in the 1996 presidential campaign.

Currently, the federal government allocates about 70 percent of its antidrug budget to fighting the supply of drugs. This money helps destroy crops used to make drugs in foreign countries, encourage those

Archive Photos/Reuters/Pool

Since 1989, U.S. troops have conducted hundreds of counter-drug missions, including capturing drug smugglers along U.S. borders. However, some constitutional scholars are concerned that this role blurs the legal line between the military and domestic law enforcement. Shown here, U.S. and Peruvian forces train for counter-drug operations on the Amazon River.

STATES RIGHTS AND THE BRADY BILL

In December 1996, the Supreme Court heard arguments over the constitutionality of the Brady bill, which requires states to perform background checks on gun purchasers. Many local law enforcement officials believe the law is an infringement of state sovereignty. If the Supreme Court strikes down the Brady bill, criminologists fear it could become easier to purchase guns in many areas of the United States, a situation that could increase crime rates. In addition, if the Court backs the challengers to the law, constitutional experts say it would be a victory for states' rights and the limitation of congressional power.

nations to plant other crops, and intercept shipments of drugs before they enter the United States. The remaining 30 percent of the federal antidrug budget is spent to reduce the demand for drugs through education and treatment programs.

Some Americans think that more money should go for programs that prevent and treat drug abuse. They commonly see the drug problem as a health issue, rather than a crime issue. Supporters of reducing the demand for drugs argue that illegal drugs will always find a way into the country as long as there is a strong demand and billions of dollars to be made in drug trafficking. Therefore, they contend that the best way to rid society of drugs is to treat the symptoms at home—discouraging people from trying drugs and helping addicts to recover.

However, others believe that the government needs to spend more money fighting the drug supply. They argue that Americans use illegal drugs because drugs are readily available, not because they have a health problem. Critics of a demand-reduction strategy point out that local governments already spend tens of billions of dollars on drug education and rehabilitation. Moreover, they contend that the federal government alone is responsible for foreign policy and national defense, so it is appropriate for it to spend more money fighting drugs overseas and at U.S. borders.

OUTLOOK

Many local, state, and federal lawmakers believe the falling crime rate is evidence the war on crime is working. However, many observers contend that recent anticrime laws that have emerged from state legislatures and Congress are, at best, short-term solutions. They believe the roots of crime—poverty, breakdown of families, and drug abuse—have yet to be properly addressed by the government and the increase in drug use among young people is an ominous sign for the future. Some criminologists believe that when these young people reach adulthood, their criminal behavior could get worse, and the violent crime rate might again rise. Therefore, many lawmakers call on law enforcement officials and communities across the country to continue to be vigilant in their anticrime efforts, not only improving enforcement, but also taking steps to help prevent situations that often lead to crimes being committed.

THE DEBATE: CRIME AND DRUGS

Gun Control Laws Reduce Violent Crime.

PRO: Gun-related murders account for more than half of all homicides committed every year in the United States. Waiting periods and bans on semiautomatic weapons are working; homicide rates are down in most U.S. cities. Other industrialized nations, including Great Britain and Japan, have had strict gun control laws for years and never have more than 100 gun-related deaths a year.

CON: Gun control laws do not prevent criminals from obtaining guns. These laws only prevent law-abiding citizens from getting the firearms they need for protection, and to which they are constitutionally entitled. Violent criminals obtain guns through illegal means and would continue to commit crimes if stricter laws were passed. Innocent civilians, however, could be left defenseless.

Mandatory Sentencing Laws Should Be Changed.

PRO: America's prison population exceeds 1 million. Prisons are becoming overcrowded, at a huge expense to taxpayers. Mandatory sentencing laws mean less room in jail for violent criminals because first-time drug offenders and nonviolent criminals are being locked up. These laws should be changed to cut the prison sentences for minor crimes so that repeat violent criminals can serve out their sentences.

CON: Violent crime in America is decreasing because would-be criminals now know that if they commit a crime, they will do time. If prisons become overcrowded, authorities will simply build more prisons, which American taxpayers will gladly pay for. The key to fighting crime is keeping criminals off the street. Mandatory sentencing laws make sure that violent criminals receive proper punishment for their offenses.

The Federal Government Should Stress Prevention in the War on Drugs.

PRO: The federal government currently does not spend enough money on drug education and treatment programs, so the demand for illegal drugs continues unabated. Consequently, the prices for drugs are high, and there is much money to be made producing and distributing those substances. Drugs flood into the country to meet that demand. If the government spent more money on reducing the demand for drugs, the supply of drugs would automatically decrease.

CON: Local governments already spend tens of billions of dollars on drug education and treatment programs. Hospitals, drug treatment centers, and education all fall under local jurisdictions. However, local governments cannot fight the drug war in foreign countries, nor can they intercept drugs at U.S. borders. The federal government alone is responsible for foreign policy and national security, so it must spend most of its antidrug budget accordingly.

THE ECONOMY

When Americans try to find a job, buy milk at a grocery store, or borrow money to buy a home, they are affected by the state of the U.S. economy. Lawmakers are always looking for ways to improve the economy because they know it can determine the standard of living and quality of life for the American people. In addition, the economic strength of the United States plays a major role in determining its status as a world leader.

For the past few years, despite steady growth and low unemployment, polls have shown that a significant number of Americans are generally pessimistic about their economic future. Economists say that one explanation for this anxiety could be that, although the economy as a whole is generally strong, citizens continue to face job insecurity and stagnant wages. Businesses, individuals, and lawmakers are concerned about how to ensure economic growth while improving wages and working conditions for American workers.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the government do more to close the "income gap"?
- Should the government abandon the current tax system?
- Should the government do more to retrain displaced workers?

The debate over what role the federal government should play in the nation's economy continues across the nation and on Capitol Hill. Democrats traditionally favor a more activist government approach and point to growing economic inequities as evidence that the government needs to intervene. Republicans, on the other hand, believe the government's role should be small and that the market economy, if left alone, can provide more jobs and higher wages. Americans listen to these debates because they know the resulting economic policies will probably affect their daily lives.

BACKGROUND

Factors in Economic Policy

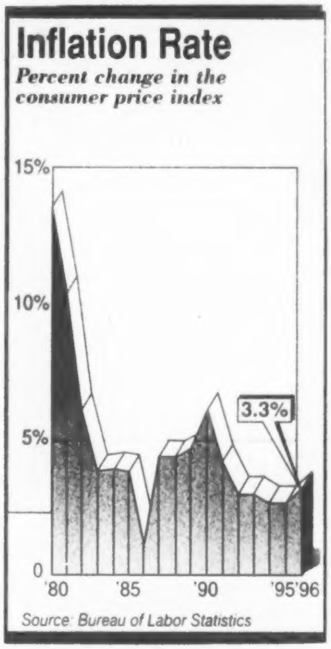
Inflation. Inflation is a continuing rise in prices for goods and services. The higher the rate of inflation, the faster prices go up. The inflation rate declined from 13.5 percent in 1980 to 1.1 percent in 1986 before rising again to 6.1 percent in 1990. Though inflation dropped to around 2.5 percent during the early 1990s, in 1996 it rose to 3.3 percent—the highest rate in five years, yet still relatively low.

One danger of inflation is that unless accompanied by a comparable increase in wages, it lowers the standard of living. Inflation particularly hurts people living on fixed incomes, such as retired Americans and those who depend on government-sponsored social programs.

A high rate of inflation also induces people to buy on credit and to forgo saving money. The economy suffers when individuals do not save because banks have less money to lend for investments in new homes, businesses, and industrial equipment.

The government can control inflation in a variety of ways. The most common method is through the Federal Reserve Board (the Fed). The Fed determines the amount of money circulating in the economy. The Fed can reduce—or tighten—the money supply by raising interest rates (the price one must pay to borrow money). When interest rates go up, consumer spending decreases and prices level off or go down.

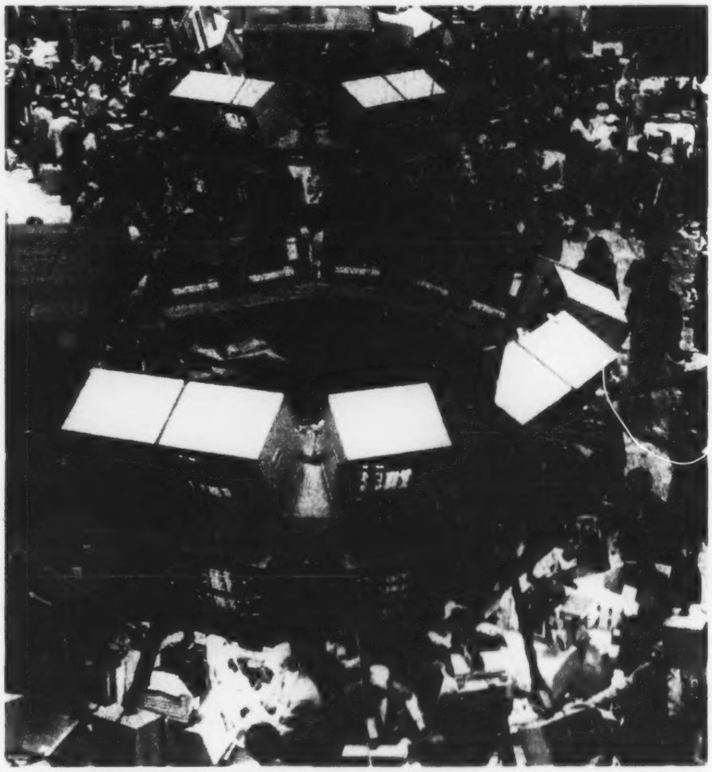
In 1995, the Senate Finance Committee appointed a commission, made up of university economists and some former presidential economic advisers, to look into how the government was measuring inflation using the Consumer Price Index (CPI). In 1996, the commission released its report, finding that the government was overstating the nation's inflation rate by about 1.25


Inflation Rate

Percent change in the consumer price index

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The rate of inflation measures how fast the prices for goods and services increase. Unless it is accompanied by a comparable rise in wages, inflation lowers the standard of living. In 1996, the average inflation rate was 3.3 percent.



In the stock market, people buy or invest in businesses and corporations. The process takes place at stock exchanges (pictured here). When trading and profits are high, some investors call it a "bull market."

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

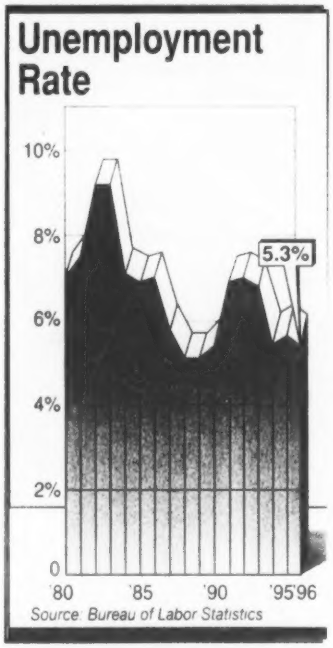
percent each year. They claim that this small difference costs the federal government billions of dollars annually because entitlement benefits, such as Social Security and Medicare, are adjusted using the CPI. They say the CPI should be corrected to help balance the budget. However, opponents say that reducing the CPI would hurt low-income and retired Americans who depend on inflation adjustments to keep their earnings at pace with the increasing cost of living.

Unemployment. The rate of unemployment refers to the percentage of men and women who want to work but cannot find jobs. Because there are always people between jobs, the unemployment rate is never zero. Many economists consider the economy to be at full employment when 4 percent or less of the employable population is looking for work. In early 1997, the unemployment rate stood at about 5 percent.

Traditionally, unemployment hits some groups harder than others—minorities more than whites, females more than males, teenagers more than adults. Sometimes unemployment goes up when companies move their factories to developing countries or to other parts of the United States. Relocating U.S. manufacturing plants sets off a "domino effect." When American companies move factories to developing countries where workers are paid lower wages, the price of the goods they produce goes down, but U.S. workers lose jobs. However, companies that keep their operations in the United States often must charge comparatively higher prices for their products, causing them to lose sales and forcing them to lay off workers.

Unemployment also affects government and the taxpayers. When men and women are out of work, they pay less in taxes. As a result, the government takes in less revenue. At the same time, the government has to pay out more in unemployment compensation.

In times of high unemployment, the government uses different tactics to create new jobs. It can create its own jobs. For example, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration hired millions of Americans for public works projects such as planting trees; stringing power lines in rural areas; and constructing public buildings, bridges, and dams. Or, as is commonly done today, the government can lower taxes and interest rates to encourage businesses to expand their operations and hire more workers.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The rate of unemployment measures the percentage of the civilian labor force that wants to work but cannot find jobs. Unemployment was 5.3 percent at the end of 1996.

Recession. A recession is a period of economic slowdown. Recessions are usually marked by declines in production, spending, and consumer demand, and often lead to high unemployment.

To stimulate economic growth, the Federal Reserve Board can make more money available to banks for lending by lowering the interest rate it charges banks. Another way the government can combat a recession is by reducing taxes. Lowering taxes puts more cash in consumers' pockets. Additional cash encourages consumer spending on goods and services.

Historically, the U.S. economy has gone through cycles of recession and recovery. The most recent recession began in 1990 following strong economic growth in the 1980s. Although the recession ended in the spring of 1991, job creation and consumer confidence—robust in past recoveries—were sluggish at best. By the end of 1993, growth began to pick up, a trend that continued through 1996, with the economy growing at a healthy 3 to 4 percent. Most economists predict that the economy, in 1997, will grow at around 3 percent.

Productivity. Productivity refers to the amount of goods produced per person per hour. A rising rate of productivity usually leads to higher wages, higher profits, and lower prices. Beginning in the 1960s and continuing until the early 1990s, productivity in some countries—particularly Japan—increased more than it did in the United States. This increase in foreign productivity meant that products made in other countries were less expensive to produce than comparable products made in the United States. As a result, they sold better in all markets.

U.S. manufacturers found that they either had to spend millions of dollars modernizing their factories to increase productivity or give up manufacturing in the United States altogether. Some companies moved their factories out of the country to avoid the costs of meeting government safety and antipollution regulations and the high wages they must pay American workers.

Although high productivity is generally considered good for the economy, it can change the nature of the workforce and temporarily increase unemployment. For example, as new machines and computers on assembly lines take over more and more human roles, workers find themselves unemployed or working in nonmanufacturing fields like the service or information industries, two segments of the U.S. economy that are still growing. In recent years, the productivity and the length of the average workweek of American workers has increased.

These increases have allowed companies to produce more goods and services without hiring more employees. In 1996, productivity rose 0.8 percent, the best in four years, and helped the United States remain one of the most productive nations in the world.

MERGER MANIA?

In recent years, several high-profile U.S. corporations have merged their operations. For example, Martin Marietta and Lockheed, two of the nation's largest defense contractors, joined forces in 1995. In 1996, Boeing bought McDonnell Douglas, creating one of the largest aerospace firms in the world. Critics of the merger trend say it will likely cause higher prices and less selection for consumers. However, many business leaders say that combining efforts enables them to stay competitive internationally.

International Interdependence. The United States is the world's largest exporter and importer. The huge market for foreign goods in the United States creates jobs overseas and keeps foreign workers employed. Similarly, the health of the U.S. economy depends on how well American products sell in foreign markets. During the early 1990s, many Americans lost their jobs because sales of U.S. products declined overseas.

Economic conditions in one country can often affect the entire global economy. If the United States has a large budget deficit or a natural disaster that damages crops, for example, it could mean higher prices or fewer jobs somewhere else. In an attempt to stabilize the world economy, seven of the world's leading industrial nations meet annually at a "Group of Seven" (G-7) summit to coordinate policies for worldwide economic issues. The G-7 countries—Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the United States—discuss trade agreements, unemployment problems, and economic difficulties and try to develop cooperative solutions.

The Economy of the 1980s and 1990s

Supply-Side Economics. After taking office in 1981, President Ronald Reagan promoted supply-side economics, a policy that aimed to raise employment and lower inflation by increasing the supply of goods and services in the economy. President Reagan believed that cutting tax rates would give businesses and consumers more cash to invest in new, more efficient machinery and technological advances. These advances could increase productivity and profits. Supporters of this theory believed that an increase in profits would automatically make tax revenues go up, thereby reducing the budget deficit naturally, without inflation and government interference. Congress approved Reagan's plan and the U.S. economy grew steadily from 1983 to 1990—one of the longest peacetime economic expansions in the nation's history. In the 1990s, many Republican lawmakers continued to support the idea that deep tax cuts would stimulate economic growth.

The Budget Deficit. Despite healthy economic growth during much of the 1980s, the federal budget deficit—the amount by which federal government expenditures exceed revenue—tripled. While some lawmakers blamed the increased defense spending and tax cuts of the Reagan and Bush administrations, others pointed to increased federal spending on entitlement programs, such as Social Security and Medicare, as the main reason for the rising deficit.

In 1995, a conflict between President Bill Clinton and Republican lawmakers brought the federal government to a standstill: The two sides could not agree on how to balance the budget. Each year many of the same issues are debated when lawmakers attempt to

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

The rate at which new homes are constructed in the United States is a key indicator of the economy's strength.

CONSUMERS IN THE RED

Economists predict that more than 1 million Americans will declare bankruptcy in 1997, due in part to consumer overspending on credit cards. In 1996, Visa and MasterCard reported consumer debt of nearly $450 million, five times the amount owed in 1980. Also in 1996, more consumers were late with credit card payments than ever before. Some lawmakers blame the trend on companies that offer credit cards to people who are unlikely to pay them off, such as college students and the unemployed. Others say that the increased debt is a major result of the ready availability of places to use the cards, such as in supermarkets and convenience stores.

agree on a federal budget. The debate generally centers around the dilemma of how to curb entitlement spending and avoid tax increases, while maintaining the number and quality of government services. Although many lawmakers are concerned about what effect massive budget cuts would have on low-income and older Americans, many economists believe that the growing national debt is hampering the economic growth of the United States and needs to be addressed.

The American Economy Today. Despite statistics showing steady economic growth and low inflation, many Americans continue to be pessimistic about their future. For example, although unemployment remains relatively low, many people doubt that their jobs are secure. Part of this anxiety can be traced to the growing wage inequality between upper- and lower-income Americans—a trend known as the "income gap."

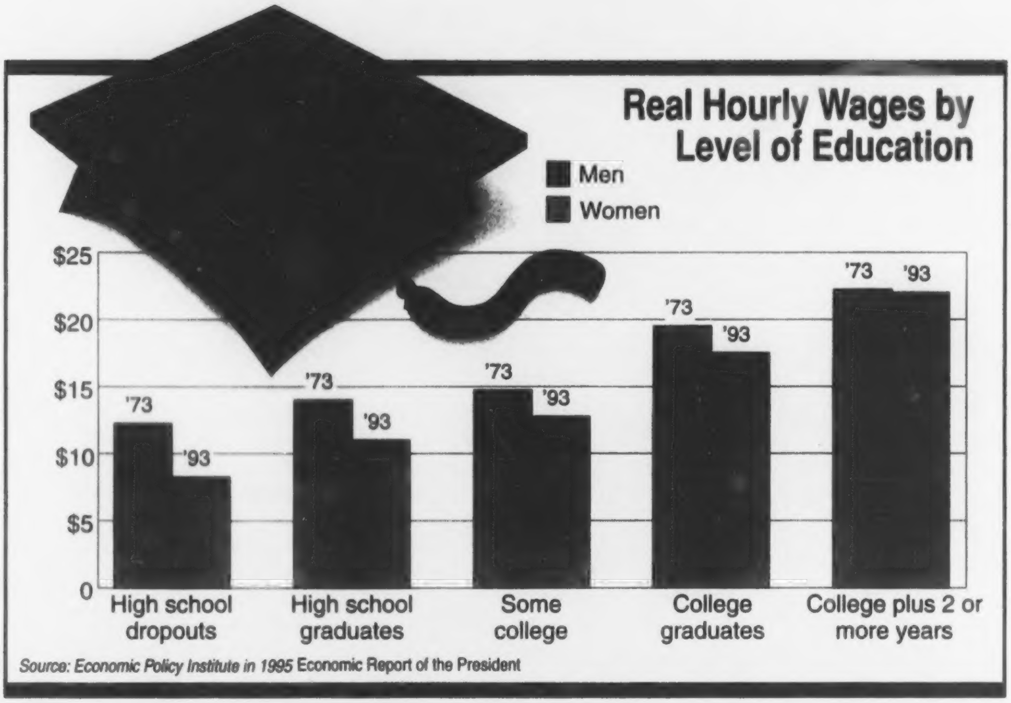
Since 1964, the annual incomes of the wealthiest (top 20 percent) of American families rose more than 44 percent. In stark contrast, the annual incomes of the poorest American families (bottom 20 percent) rose only 7 percent. Some economists say that as businesses and industries began relying more on technology, workers without technical skills or the means to acquire them fell even farther behind. Others believe that a capitalist economy naturally produces some who prosper and some who do not. Whatever the cause, many economists agree that the economic classes in the United States are becoming more polarized.

CURRENT ISSUES

Closing the Income Gap. While some experts view the income gap in the United States as a disturbing development, others argue that its potential harm to American society is being overstated.

Some lawmakers believe that the federal government should take an active role in bringing more economic equality to the United States. They supported laws, passed by Congress and President Clinton, that increased the minimum wage from $4.25 an hour to $5.15 an hour. They contend that other prosperous industrialized countries do not have similar income disparities because their governments make greater investments in education and have fairer tax systems. They argue that if measures are not taken to bridge the gap between rich and poor, social divisions and crime in the United States will worsen. Supporters of intervention in the economy say that this crisis could be avoided if lawmakers do more to ensure that all Americans benefit from economic growth.

However, others are against government intervention in the economy, except in times of emergency, such as a depression. Critics of a more active government role in the economy contend that the United States promises equality of opportunity and equality under the law, but has never promised or promoted equality in income. They argue that a capitalist system thrives on competition, which inevitably produces "winners" and "losers." In addition, government action to redistribute wealth could reduce the incentive to create wealth. If Americans do not have the motivation to succeed, the economy could suffer. In addition, critics also contend that expanding the government role in the economy could threaten individual freedom.



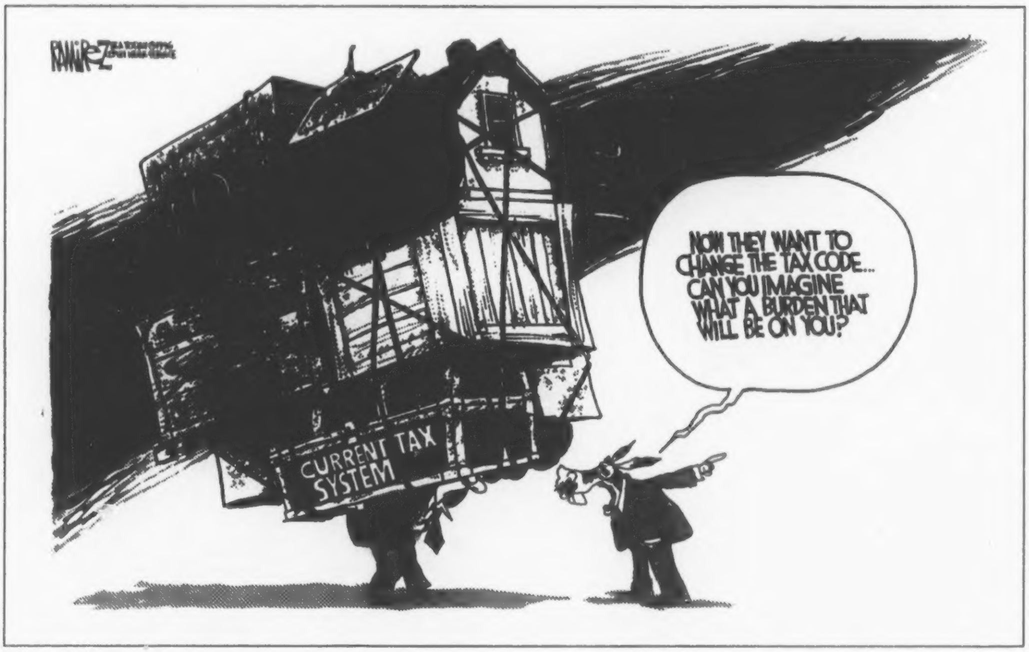
Source: Economic Policy Institute in 1995 Economic Report of the President

Many economists believe that workers without computer skills will have difficulty prospering in the increasingly high-tech job market.

Tax Reform. For decades, the American people have complained about the U.S. income tax system. The current U.S. tax code divides wage earners into five income brackets. The top tax bracket is composed of the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans—those with an annual income of at least $185,000. The bottom bracket consists of those individuals whose income is $21,000 or less. The wealthiest Americans pay a tax rate of about 27 percent; those on the lower end of the income scale pay about 4 percent. Under the present tax code, some income is tax-exempt while some is partly taxable. Some expenses are tax-deductible.

Some lawmakers and economists favor simplifying the current system, while others would replace entirely what they believe is a complex and burdensome income tax system with a simple flat tax. Under a flat tax, all Americans, regardless of income, would pay the same rate of 16 to 20 percent, depending on the specific proposal.

Still others have suggested eliminating the income tax system entirely and replacing it with a national


RAMIREZ
NOW THEY WANT TO CHANGE THE TAX CODE... CAN YOU IMAGINE WHAT A BURDEN THAT WILL BE ON YOU?
CURRENT TAX SYSTEM

Mike Ramirez/Copley News Service

sales tax. Many states and localities already use sales taxes to raise revenues. Instead of paying taxes on their incomes at the end of the year, Americans would pay a 15 percent fee when they spend money on goods or services. Under this plan, Americans who spend the most would pay the most taxes.

Those who support replacing the entire system say that the new plans, such as the flat tax or the national sales tax, would be a fairer and more efficient way to collect the nation's revenue. If the tax system were completely redone, paying taxes could become a simple and anxiety-free task. Proponents say that either plan would mean less taxes for many Americans and free up more income to save and invest, leading to a stronger economy. In addition, they believe that a new tax system could save money by reducing administrative costs at the Internal Revenue Service, the federal agency that collects taxes.

Opponents of these proposals say abandoning the current tax system would result in fewer revenues for the government, increasing the budget deficit. They think that the current tax system is fair because it demands more taxes from those who make more money. A flat tax would cut the tax rate for the wealthiest Americans and collect only slightly more or the same amount of taxes from the rest of the population. Critics also say that a national sales tax would be difficult and costly to enforce. They also fear that low-income Americans, who must spend a larger proportion of their incomes, would pay more taxes under this plan while high-income Americans would pay less taxes.

Retraining Displaced Workers. Beginning in the 1970s, as more companies automated their factories or moved their operations to foreign countries, many low-skill, high-wage manufacturing jobs in the United States disappeared. This economic transition is known as technological unemployment and it affects Americans with few skills or without a high school education. Labor experts say that this phenomenon has created a "new economy" no longer based on manufacturing, but rather on service industries, such as retail sales and public relations. Therefore, even many American workers with high school degrees do not have the computer or office skills needed to secure high-paying jobs.

For example, from 1993 to 1996, more than 4 million workers were displaced from jobs that they had held for more than three years. Many labor experts agree that more workers will be displaced in the next few years if the education level of American workers does not keep pace with the technical skills needed for most American jobs. For example, as more and more jobs require computer literacy, those workers without computer experience will have difficulty finding work.

In light of this trend, some lawmakers want to increase government efforts to retrain displaced workers. Currently, the U.S. Department of Labor gives money to state programs and operates several of its own job training programs around the country to help Americans compete in the new economy. The Clinton administration has proposed increasing funding for these programs. Some lawmakers have

WHERE THE JOBS ARE

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the top ten fields for expanding employment opportunities in 1997 are

1. Teacher
2. Nurse
3. Executive
4. Systems analyst
5. Truck driver
6. Social worker
7. Lawyer
8. Financial manager
9. Computer engineer
10. Accountant

proposed a system of tax incentives and penalties to encourage more businesses to adopt training programs for their employees. Supporters of these policies say that both government and business will benefit when American workers have the education and skills to compete in the changing world economy.

However, opponents of increased funding for retraining say that there is little evidence that these programs really work. Some studies show that workers who complete retraining programs are unlikely to secure jobs that have a comparable salary to their previous job. In addition, some economists say that it would cost nearly $60 billion a year to properly retrain workers for today's high-paying jobs.

Many have criticized the government's job training efforts, saying the system is too bureaucratic and its programs overlap. Most business leaders support the idea of retraining but oppose enacting government regulations that would require it. They say requiring businesses to retrain their workers could be so expensive it would create even more job losses. They favor tax incentives for individuals and businesses to encourage them to participate in and pay for retraining programs.

OUTLOOK

In 1996 and into 1997, the American economy continued to grow, as unemployment and inflation remained relatively low. However, the current optimism of many economists toward the strength of the economy is not shared by a large portion of the public. Many Americans are pessimistic about the future of their country in the increasingly interdependent global economy. Wages for many workers are not increasing and the standard of living of many middle-income families is slipping.

Should the federal government play a more active role in the economy? Should the tax system be reformed? The president and Congress are debating these and other issues as the United States prepares to compete in the world economy of the twenty-first century.

THE DEBATE: THE ECONOMY

The Government Should Do More to Close the "Income Gap."

PRO: The growing wage inequality between the upper and lower classes threatens the economic and social stability of the United States. A society of "haves" and "have-nots" is contrary to the promise of equality of opportunity for all Americans. The federal government needs to intervene and take steps, such as reforming the tax system and investing more in job education, to create more equality.

CON: The income gap between the lower and upper class is an unfortunate but inevitable side effect of capitalism. Capitalism emphasizes competition and rewards those who succeed. Furthermore, wage inequality is partially a result of the growing global economy, which emphasizes high-skilled workers more than low-skilled workers. Government intervention in the economy is a violation of the basic economic freedoms of the United States.

The Government Should Abandon the Current Tax System.

PRO: The current income tax system is too complicated and is an obstacle to economic prosperity. The tax-filing process for Americans should be simplified dramatically. Replacing the income tax system with a flat tax or a national sales tax would mean Americans would spend less on taxes and would encourage them to save and invest more of their incomes. Simplifying the tax system would also reduce the cost of the bureaucracy at the IRS.

CON: The current U.S. tax system is fair because it demands more taxes from those who earn the most. A flat tax would likely benefit only the wealthiest Americans. A national sales tax would be difficult to enforce and could cause low-income Americans, who spend proportionately more of their incomes, to pay more, not less, taxes. Overhauling the tax system will likely result in less government revenue, further contributing to the budget deficit.

The Government Should Do More to Retrain Displaced Workers.

PRO: American workers will not be able to compete in the increasingly technical job market if they do not have adequate skills and education. Both government and business should help pay to retrain displaced workers so they can find new jobs that pay decent salaries. Although the programs will be expensive, businesses will benefit in the long run when their workers are better skilled. Retraining will boost the economy by creating a more productive workforce.

CON: Although educating and training low-skilled workers is important, more government retraining programs are not the answer. There is no solid evidence that retraining programs help workers get better paying jobs. Creating more of these programs would only mean more federal government bureaucracy and a higher budget deficit. Requiring businesses to pay to retrain their workers will be expensive and could cause more layoffs and higher prices for consumers.

EDUCATION

Many Americans believe that the public educational system in the United States is in crisis. As localities across the country struggle to provide adequate public services with fewer and fewer tax dollars, schools—and their students—often suffer. Increasing violence on school grounds and overcrowded classrooms are just two of the problems confronting school officials. Faced with the challenge of finding solutions, parents in local school districts and lawmakers in Washington generally agree that reforms are needed.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the federal government have a major role in improving schools?
- Should parents be allowed to choose their children's public school?
- Should universities adopt multicultural curricula?

However, the problems do not end with the public school system. The cost of higher education continues to soar, preventing many young Americans from attending college. Many who do are strapped with huge loans.

Although many educators believe that the federal government has a role in improving the quality of public schools, others say that state and local governments do a better job. Concerned that their children will not be prepared for the challenges of the twenty-first century, many parents have demanded improvements in their children's education. President Bill Clinton made education reform a top priority of his second term in office. Ultimately, the national dialogue will have to involve all of these participants if Americans are to improve their nation's educational system.

BACKGROUND

The American School System

Community Approach. Education has always been valued by Americans. The Puritans viewed education as an important means of passing on religious teachings. Later, Americans thought that publicly supported education could wipe out the legacy of the British system, where the ability to read and write separated the economic classes. Since its inception in the mid-1800s, the public school system has enabled immigrant children to become American children, teaching them the English language and the skills necessary to thrive in the United States.

The U.S. public school system is highly decentralized. Local school districts determine programs of study, select books, hire teachers, and set school budgets. A school district can encompass an entire county or city or just a small geographical segment of a community. Some Americans say that a major problem with the U.S.

Illinois State Historical Society

Compulsory public education began in the United States during the 1850s. Until the mid-twentieth century, children of different ages were often taught together in one-room schools like the one pictured here.

education system is that schools are often funded unequally because local real estate taxes, commonly used to finance education, vary widely. Wealthy districts with high property values can afford better schools and teachers than can districts with low property values.

For the most part, public schools are locally controlled. A superintendent manages each school district, while a local school board, usually elected, makes budget and policy decisions. State governments commonly distribute state funds to local schools, set accreditation standards, certify teachers, and provide other guidelines for public schools. The federal government remained generally uninvolved in public education until the U.S. Supreme Court ended school segregation in 1954 and began to look for ways to fight poverty in the 1960s.

School Desegregation. In the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racially segregated public schools were unconstitutional, saying that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Later court decisions ordered schools to begin desegregating immediately. To comply with court orders, many school districts began busing students to schools outside their neighborhoods to bring together children of different races and ethnic backgrounds. In 1991, the Supreme

CONTROVERSY OVER EBONICS

In December 1996, the Oakland, California, school district officially recognized "black English," also known as "Ebonics," as a separate language. The members of the school board said that Ebonics has its own grammar and syntax and should therefore be treated as a separate language. Supporters of using Ebonics in the classroom say it will serve as a bridge to help young African Americans read and write standard English without having to erase the cultural heritage of their speech patterns. Critics of the policy say that it will legitimize incorrect speech and will only make African Americans less competitive in the classroom and the workplace.

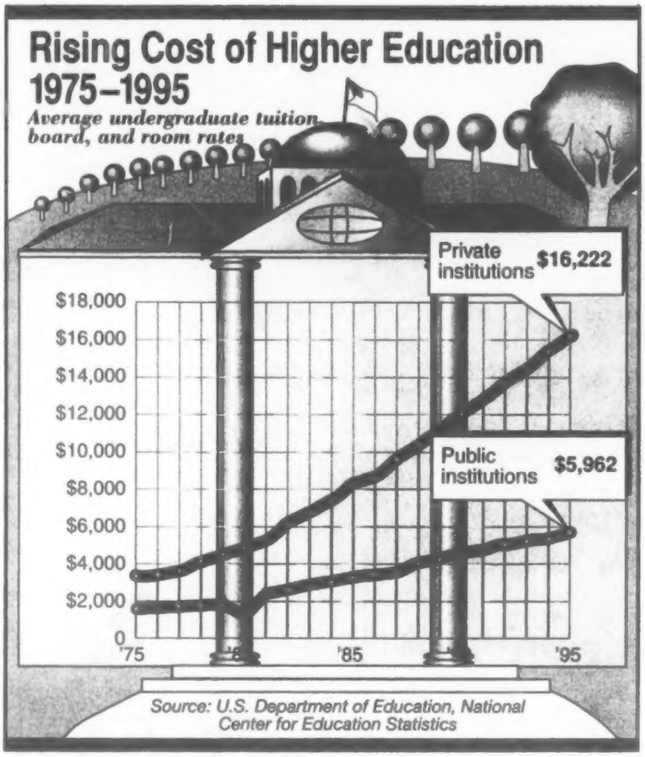
Close Up Foundation/Paul E. Alers

Some public school districts now require students to wear uniforms to school. Supporters of the policy say that it will prevent competition among students, save parents money, and encourage school spirit. Opponents argue that requiring students to wear uniforms is unconstitutional, and distracts attention from larger educational problems.

Court ruled that school districts can be released from court-ordered busing plans if they have done their best to eliminate the effects of segregation.

Some school systems have tried to encourage integration by establishing magnet schools. These schools attract students to schools outside their neighborhoods by specializing in areas including the performing arts, science, math, or foreign languages. In spite of these efforts, studies suggest that the nation's schools are becoming resegregated. Many wealthier residents have moved from the cities to the suburbs or have chosen to send their children to private schools, leaving mostly lower-income minorities to cope with deteriorating inner city schools.

The Great Society. In the 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson addressed the problem of poverty through his Great Society programs. "Poverty has many roots," Johnson said, "but the taproot is ignorance." He proposed three new federal education programs: the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965), and the Higher Education Act (1965). These laws established adult literacy programs, financed loans for college students, and funded Project Head Start.



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics

The increasing cost of higher education concerns many middle and lower-income Americans who want to go to college.

Head Start provides education, nutrition, and health programs to disadvantaged children. The program operates in about 1,300 centers in communities nationwide. Head Start attempts to teach 3- and 4-year-olds basic concepts, such as prereading skills, that many believe will make them more likely to succeed in school and help break the poverty cycle over time.

Higher Education. The cost of higher education in America has risen more than 200 percent since 1980, making it more difficult for middle- and lower-income Americans to afford college for their children. Some states, such as Texas and Virginia, have begun allowing parents to pay for their child's state college tuition in advance to avoid any further increases in cost. In 1996, President Bill Clinton announced he would ask Congress to pass a law to give parents a two-year $1,500 tax credit to apply toward the cost of higher education. The president said that a community college education should be as routine as a high school degree.

To help Americans pay for higher education, the government offers a variety of programs, such as Pell grants and low-interest loans to college students. Pell grants are awarded to low-income students and, unlike loans, do not need to be paid back after graduation. Lower- and middle-class students are eligible for subsidized education loans, which they must pay back within ten years of graduation. While students are in school, and for six months after graduation, the government pays the interest on the loan. Nearly half of the nation's college students currently have some form of government-funded tuition loans.

Many people have criticized student loan programs because of the high number of loans that are not paid back. In 1990, more than 22 percent of students defaulted on (failed to pay back) their loans—an all-time high. Recent reforms in the lending system, however, have since cut the default rate in half. Yet some legislators believe that the government needs to do more to prevent undeserving students from receiving loans and to ensure that students who receive loans repay them on time.

Education Today. After more than a decade of reform and increases in state and federal spending on education, many Americans are still concerned about public education. A 1996 poll showed that more than 60 percent of parents believe that the quality of education in public schools is poor. The United States continues to lag behind other industrialized nations in science and math test scores. Though minority groups have made educational strides in the last few decades, African-American and Hispanic students remain behind their white counterparts in high school graduation rates. However, politicians, parents, and educators hope that the latest reforms will help solve some of these problems.

CURRENT ISSUES

Federal Oversight and National Standards. Traditionally, control of public schools has rested with local school districts. Over the years, however, state governments have become involved in overseeing issues such as textbook selection, teacher certification, and equitable school funding. The federal government's role in education has, historically, been quite limited.

By the 1960s, however, the federal government had taken on a broader role in determining policies and practices in the nation's schools. Building on the federal initiatives of the Great Society programs of the 1960s, President Jimmy Carter created the U.S. Department of Education in 1979. In the 1980s, President George Bush, calling himself the "education president," strove to bring about further reforms in the nations' schools. In 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, which set out eight national education goals and provided money to help states meet them.

Many of the nation's mayors and governors oppose federal involvement in public schools because they believe that education should stay under local and state control. In addition, many members of Congress believe that federally funded education initiatives are costly and wasteful. They say that funding for education should be turned over to the states to administer. Some have even proposed abolishing the Department of Education altogether.

Supporters of federal involvement in public education say schools need a benchmark, such as national education standards, to evaluate educational reform. Proponents think such standards may help the future U.S. workforce become more competitive in the global market. Furthermore, supporters argue that only federal guidance will help students in poor school districts measure up to students from wealthier districts.

Critics of federal involvement in public schools say that state and local authorities understand better what kind of standards and practices their school districts need. Critics also believe that national standards will inevitably lead to a national curriculum, the content of which may be fiercely opposed in some school districts. Finally, critics say that increased federal involvement adds another expensive bureaucratic layer to the educational process.

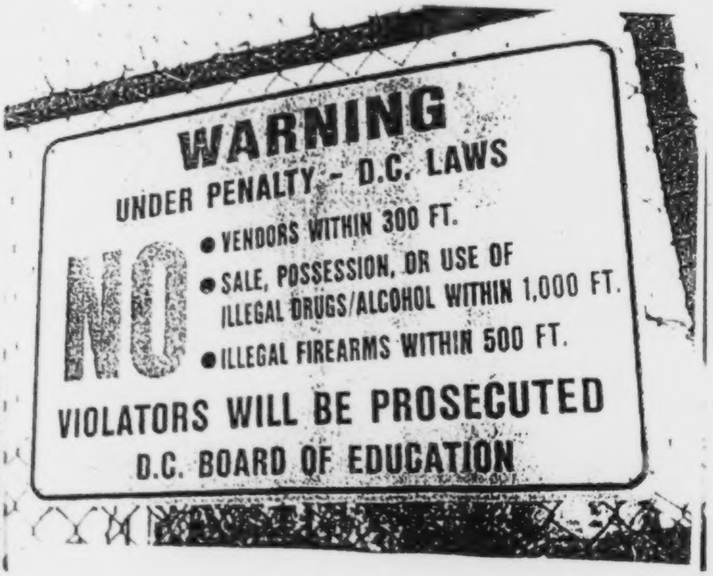
YEAR-ROUND SCHOOLS

To combat the problems in the nations' public schools, some school districts have adopted year-round education (YRE). In 1996, more than 2,300 schools in thirty-seven states operated on some type of year-round schedule. Similar to educational systems in Japan and France, some YRE schools require students to attend up to 240 school days per year. Other year-round plans involve the current number of school days (180), but spread them over more of the calendar year.

School Choice. Many observers of the public school system say that students are not getting the education they deserve because parents have little say in where their children are educated. They contend that schools have no incentive to improve, because schools have guaranteed student enrollments based on geography, not on quality. By giving parents the choice of where to send their children, these critics argue, schools—much like businesses in a free market economy—would have to improve to attract students. In the late 1980s and 1990s, the idea of "school choice" became one of the most popular educational reform proposals.

One version of school choice would involve issuing vouchers to parents to help pay the cost of their children's education at any public school, or toward the cost of a private school tuition. Many parents with children in poor public schools, and parents who are already paying tuition fees at private schools, champion the idea. Over the past few years, some cities, such as Cleveland and Milwaukee, have experimented with vouchers, with mixed results.

Supporters of school voucher plans say holding schools accountable for their performance would force them to improve. A voucher system, according to proponents, would result, at least in the short term, in a drop in enrollments at poor schools. This result might force teachers and administrators at these schools to fix problems or risk being closed down. Those who favor vouchers believe that low-income parents should


WARNING
UNDER PENALTY - D.C. LAWS
NO
• VENDORS WITHIN 300 FT.
• SALE, POSSESSION, OR USE OF ILLEGAL DRUGS/ALCOHOL WITHIN 1,000 FT.
• ILLEGAL FIREARMS WITHIN 500 FT.
VIOLATORS WILL BE PROSECUTED
D.C. BOARD OF EDUCATION

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Juvenile crime rates have risen in recent years, creating violent environments in many of the nation's public schools. Some schools now post signs, like this one in Washington, D.C., warning students of the consequences of bringing guns or drugs to school.

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WHAT'S THE SCORE?

The Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT), taken by thousands of college-bound high schoolers each year, provides universities with a standardized method of evaluating their applicants. In 1996, the College Board, which administers the SAT, "recentered" the test scores in an effort to raise the average score (428 verbal, 482 math) closer to the intended average of 500. Test officials believed the new scoring—which could raise scores nearly 100 points—will better reflect the diversity and talent of today's high school students. Critics of the new scoring system say it will overly inflate scores, making them less meaningful for college admissions offices.

have the opportunity to choose a school based on what is best for their children, much like parents who can afford private school do already. When schools become good enough to compete with one another for funds and students, supporters say, the entire educational system will improve.

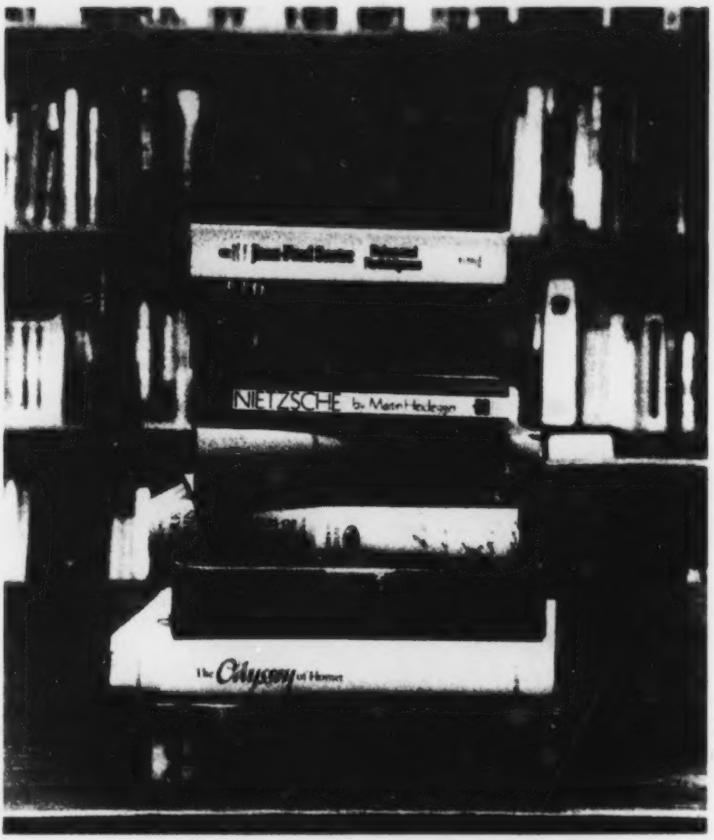
Opponents say that only those students who are fortunate enough to be accepted at private schools, or who have the means to travel to better public schools, will benefit from vouchers. Critics say that there is no solid evidence that voucher systems improve schools or raise student test scores. They also believe that public education, including the idea of the neighborhood school, is an important American ideal that fosters community spirit and should not be abandoned. Furthermore, critics say that voucher programs may be unconstitutional, because government-funded vouchers used to pay for education at religious schools may violate the constitutional principle of separation of church and state.

Multicultural Education. For most of the twentieth century, courses at American universities focused on the history, ideas, and people in Western societies. College students spent their days and nights reading the works of Homer, Aristotle, and Chaucer; studying the rise and fall of the Greek and Roman empires; and learning about the ideas of Thomas Jefferson and John

Locke. However, by the 1960s and 1970s, many students and faculty began demanding more diverse course offerings. Today, while college students may still read the "classics," many now read more works by minority authors and study topics that focus more heavily on race, gender, and class issues.

In the 1980s and 1990s, some well-known universities, such as Stanford and Georgetown, abandoned their "core curriculum" based solely on the works of Western societies. Many schools began requiring students to take non-Western courses that focused on contributions made by, among others, Asian, African-American, and Native American cultures.

Supporters of multicultural education say that college courses have too long ignored the contributions of nonwhite and non-Western societies. Many university officials believe that requiring a Western-based core curriculum implies cultural superiority and fails to recognize



Close Up Foundation/Paul E. Alers

Critics of multicultural teaching in universities say that students should be required to read "classics," like the books pictured here, to graduate. Multicultural supporters disagree, arguing contributions made by non-Western and nonwhite cultures should be acknowledged as well.

contributions made by other societies. Educators who favor a multicultural approach believe that requiring students to take courses based on a variety of cultures opens new areas of study and offers students a broader view of the world.

Opponents of multicultural education say that the new requirements leave out too many important Western historical works and subjects. These critics are angered that many students can now graduate from college without ever having read the "classics" or learned about ancient Western civilizations. They argue that as members of a Western society, American students need to study Western topics to understand the world in which they live. Critics also challenge the relevance of many of the new courses that universities now require students to take. By focusing heavily on the gender, race, and class differences, critics say multicultural education will further fragment American society.

OUTLOOK

As school districts nationwide struggle with mediocre test scores, shrinking budgets, and facilities that are falling into disrepair, some parents have demanded more control over how their children are educated. How local and state governments handle these challenges may be determined in part by what role the federal government plays in educational reform. The rising cost and changing values of higher education has also been a cause for concern. Education is an issue that is a top priority for citizens and lawmakers alike. Although they may disagree on how to improve the educational system in the United States, they agree that the future success of America's children likely will be determined by the education they receive today.

THE DEBATE: EDUCATION

The Federal Government Should Have a Major Role in Improving the Nation's Schools.

PRO: To ensure quality education, the federal government needs to play an active role in creating educational policy and administering educational programs. National standards will set clearly defined goals for the nation's schools and guidelines for evaluating student achievements. The federal government is better equipped to increase funding than local and state governments are.

CON: State and local governments should continue to set and measure educational standards. National standards will lead to a national curriculum, which is sure to be controversial and divisive. Local governments know best what their schools and children need. Federal involvement will only add more bureaucracy and costs to an already bloated education system.

Parents Should Be Allowed to Choose Their Children's Public School.

PRO: Parents, no matter their income, should have the right to choose how their children are educated. Schools will only improve if parents can hold school officials accountable by moving their children to better schools. The problems in the public school system are not due to lack of funds, but rather to poor management and inefficiency. Giving parents vouchers to use to send their children to a better public school or for private education will force schools to improve if they want to attract students and survive.

CON: School choice will help only those students who are accepted at private schools or who have the means to travel to another public school. There is no evidence that vouchers have improved the school systems where they have been tried. Allowing parents to use government-funded vouchers to send their children to religious schools violates the principle of separation of church and state. Communities should reform the current public education system, not abandon it in favor of vouchers.

Universities Should Adopt Multicultural Curricula.

PRO: Universities should broaden the scope of curricula to include more courses on non-Western and nonwhite cultures. Requiring that Western society be studied to graduate from college implies that it is superior and ignores contributions made by other cultures. Because students live in a diverse world, an understanding of other races and societies is essential to their success.

CON: Multicultural curricula allow students to graduate from college without studying some of the most significant works and events in human history. Many multicultural courses focus too heavily on gender and race issues and contribute to the polarization of American society. Multicultural curricula shortchange the education of American college students in the name of "political correctness."

ENVIRONMENT

In the 1960s and 1970s, many Americans became concerned that pollution was causing health problems, killing fish and wildlife, and making the air in U.S. cities unhealthy. Congress responded by passing laws to clean up polluted lakes and rivers, protect plant and animal species, and improve air quality.

In the 1980s, new environmental problems emerged. Scientists discovered that pollution in one country could affect the environment in neighboring countries—indeed, around the world. Some experts warned that carbon dioxide released from factory smokestacks and cars might be causing Earth's temperature to rise. This "greenhouse effect" could cause coastal flooding, drought, and unusual climate patterns. Scientists also discovered that certain chemicals were destroying Earth's protective ozone layer, allowing dangerous ultraviolet rays from the sun to penetrate Earth's atmosphere.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should environmental regulations be tightened?
- Should polluters pay for toxic waste cleanup?
- Should the government further restrict public land use?

Recently, some of the federal regulations that were enacted to protect the environment have come under criticism from lawmakers who believe these regulations hinder American businesses. However, others contend that environmental laws should be strengthened, not relaxed. Listening to the debate, many Americans are struggling to reconcile their concern for the environment with their desire for a prosperous economy.

BACKGROUND

The Environmental Movement

Early Conservationists. The environmental movement in the United States began in the 1890s with the growth of industrial development in the cities and the end of westward expansion. Because they had reached the Pacific Ocean, Americans could no longer escape industrialization by simply moving west. The pioneering environmentalists were conservationists who worried that industry would spread from the cities and eventually destroy the remaining wilderness. They began to urge the government to preserve forests, create parklands, and protect wilderness areas from business exploitation. The Sierra Club, which aims to protect forests, and the Audubon Society, which works to save animals from extinction, were both founded in the 1890s. Both remain prominent nationwide environmental organizations. President Theodore Roosevelt gave government support to the conservation movement near

National Archives

Prior to the passage of clean air legislation, air pollution was a growing problem in major U.S. cities—as seen in this view of pollution hanging over New York City several decades ago.

the turn of the century by setting aside national park and forest land and calling the White House Conference on Conservation.

Modern U.S. Environmentalism. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the United States experienced a major wave of interest in the environment. Rachel Carson's 1962 book, *Silent Spring,* helped start the movement by calling attention to the effects of years of neglect on the nation's environment. Americans also grew more interested in environmental cleanup as they witnessed the damaging effects of offshore oil spills and dying lakes and streams. In 1970, 20 million Americans gathered at Earth Day rallies, marches, and teach-ins to protest pollution and promote conservation. That same year, President Richard Nixon created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to enforce the growing number of environmental protection laws, such as the first Clean Air Act (1963) and, later, the Clean Water Act (1972) and the Endangered Species Act (1973).

National Archives

The environmental movement gathered momentum in the early 1970s as many Americans became increasingly concerned about the damaging effects of air and water pollution.

The Global Environment. By the 1980s, advocates for the environment believed that problems such as pollution, ozone layer depletion, and global warming demanded international solutions. This fear was confirmed in 1986 by a fire at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine, which released radiation that contaminated water and livestock over large areas of Europe.

Agreeing to reduce pollution at home to help protect Earth's environment, several nations proposed treaties in the 1980s. For example, in 1987, the United States signed the Montreal Protocol, an agreement among twenty-three nations to reduce the use of certain chemicals that destroy the ozone layer. Since then, 150 nations have signed the agreement. In a new wave of environmentalism, many nations in 1990 celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the first Earth Day.

In 1992, representatives from 178 nations met at the United Nations Conference on Environment and

Development—the Earth Summit—in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The delegates negotiated treaties and agreements to reduce global warming, preserve forests, limit ocean pollution, and conserve Earth's great variety of plant and animal species—its biodiversity. The conference was deemed a significant step toward international cooperation to protect the environment.

Dangers to the Environment

Global Warming. During the last 100 years, the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen dramatically, causing what some call a "greenhouse effect." Sources of excess carbon dioxide include emissions from automobiles and power plants. Many scientists believe that a layer of carbon dioxide and other "greenhouse gases" traps the sun's heat like glass in a greenhouse, thereby raising the temperature of the atmosphere and perhaps leading to serious environmental problems.

According to scientists at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), temperatures just a few degrees higher than normal would partially melt polar ice caps and flood coastal areas, turn productive farmland into desert, and alter weather patterns around the world. Some experts predict that world temperatures could increase three to four degrees Fahrenheit by 2100.

The decade of the 1980s was the warmest on record. Despite slight cooling in 1992 and 1993, global temperatures increased in 1994 and 1995. By the mid-1990s, scientists were able to develop computer models that could replicate and explain temperature changes around the world. These models have convinced many scientists that human activities have contributed to global warming. However, scientists disagree on how warm the planet will eventually get, and what the consequences will be.

SAVING SEA TURTLES

In 1990, the United States banned the import of tuna harvested in a manner that also caught and killed dolphins. In May 1996, even as dolphin populations were rising and Congress was considering legislation to ease the tuna embargo, the United States banned the import of shrimp harvested with nets that also catch sea turtles. Environmentalists point out that the shrimp industry is one of the least sustainable and most polluting in the world. However, shrimpers say that the new devices that allow turtles to escape from nets are expensive and allow a large number of shrimp to escape as well.

Ozone Depletion. Some greenhouse gases called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) destroy Earth's ozone layer. Ozone is distributed in a thin layer in Earth's atmosphere and shields the planet from the dangerous ultraviolet rays of the sun. Increased exposure to ultraviolet radiation weakens the human body's immune system, causes skin cancer and eye damage, and destroys crops and microorganisms. CFCs are a family of chemicals that are often used in cleaning solvents, as propellants in aerosol spray cans, and as coolants in refrigerators and air conditioners.

In 1985, a study by the British Antarctic Survey revealed that the depletion of ozone over Antarctica left a hole in the ozone layer at certain times of the year. In 1987, the United States signed the Montreal Protocol, agreeing to limit the use of chemicals that deplete the ozone layer. After ten years of continuing ozone loss, scientists discovered that the levels of CFCs in the atmosphere stopped rising in 1994 and then declined in 1995. If countries continue to follow the Montreal Protocol, scientists estimate that the ozone layer might begin to mend by 2005.

Acid Rain. In the northeastern region of the United States and in Canada, air pollution has led to highly acidic rainfall. Although the causes of acid rain are disputed, most scientists believe that it results from the transformation of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide (released by power plants, factories, and automobiles) into sulfates and nitrates. When combined with moisture in the air, sulfates and nitrates become acids and fall to Earth as acid rain. Acid rain increases the acidity of soil, streams, and lakes, making them less habitable for plants and animals. U.S. law now requires electrical utilities to reduce the total levels of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide they release by more than 10 million tons by 2000.

Nuclear Waste. When nuclear power plants burn fuel, they create nuclear waste. The production and disarmament of nuclear weapons also generates hazardous

Major Environmental Laws and Treaties

Problem	Law or Treaty	Year	Actions
Global warming	Convention on Climate Change	1992	Recommends reducing emissions of greenhouse gases
Ozone layer	Montreal Protocol	1990	Bans CFCs in industrial countries by 2000, and in developing countries by 2010
	Clean Air Act	1990	Puts Montreal Protocol limits into law Eliminates other ozone-depleting chemicals Requires CFC recycling in 1992 for air conditioners and refrigerators
Acid rain	Clean Air Act	1990	Reduces sulfur dioxide emissions to 8.9 million tons a year by 2000 Reduces nitrogen oxides by 2 million tons by 1996
Endangered species	Endangered Species Act	1973	Bans killing endangered plants and animals
	Convention on Climate and Biodiversity	1992	Requires inventories of plants and wildlife and sharing of research, profits, and technology
Nuclear waste	Nuclear Waste Policy Act	1982	Plans a permanent, underground storage area for nuclear waste by the mid-1990s
Toxic waste	Toxic Substances Control Act	1976	Gives EPA the power to ban or regulate dangerous substances and test new substances
	Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act	1980	Created the Superfund program to pay for the cleanup of hazardous waste sites and future toxic chemical disasters
Solid waste	Resource Conservation and Recovery Act	1976	Banned disposal of hazardous industrial wastes in city dumps
	Resource Conservation and Recovery Act	1984	Controls disposal of hazardous household wastes Requires all facilities handling wastes to have permits Establishes a system to track hazardous wastes from creation to disposal

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nuclear waste. Nuclear materials are generally highly toxic and take thousands of years to lose radioactivity. The problem is how to safely dispose of nuclear waste. If the waste is buried in cans, the cans might someday leak radioactive material into the soil and the water table. Dumping nuclear waste containers in the ocean presents a similar problem. Although experts have developed disposal technology, there are no guarantees that nuclear waste will never pollute the environment.

Today, highly radioactive nuclear waste from weapons production and disarmament remains in temporary storage awaiting the construction of permanent depositories. In addition, 109 nuclear power plants nationwide are storing spent radioactive fuel temporarily at plant sites. The U.S. government plans to complete a permanent, underground repository for nuclear waste in Yucca Mountain, Nevada, by 2020.

Toxic Waste. Toxic wastes are the poisonous or carcinogenic (cancer-causing) chemical compounds that remain after the production of chemicals, metals, and plastics. The United States generates 4.4 billion pounds of these toxic materials each year. Unlike nuclear wastes, some toxic wastes can be broken down into relatively safe substances through burning or chemical treatment. But for many years, toxic chemicals were dumped into pits, ponds, and landfills. In some places, the chemicals soaked into the soil and filtered into the water table, endangering the lives of humans, plants, and animals.

Today, the Environmental Protection Agency has strict rules for dumping toxic waste. For example, all such material must be placed in licensed landfills with lined bottoms to prevent chemicals from leaking into the soil. Toxic dumps must also have monitoring wells to check for leaks, and dump operators must carry enough insurance to pay for $6 million in cleanup costs every year.

In addition, in 1980, Congress created the Superfund program to pay for the initial cleanup of hazardous waste sites and any future toxic chemical disasters. This

Although industries often pay high prices for waste storage, many communities are outraged over the storage of nuclear or toxic waste in their midst. In addition, people who live in areas along nuclear waste transport routes complain of the hazards of trucking radioactive materials. Shown here is a toxic waste site.

program provides that companies found responsible for disasters eventually assume the costs. Today, the EPA lists more than 1,200 toxic waste sites as Superfund cleanup priorities. On average, it takes twelve years and $30 million to clean up a priority waste site.

Solid Waste. Each year, Americans throw away 195 million tons of trash. Much of this trash is buried in landfills. Though more than 4,500 landfills operate in the United States, the EPA estimates that many dumps will be filled by 2000. Thus, some cities must find alternatives to burying their trash. Some have already run out of landfill space and are forced to ship their solid waste to other communities. Several cities burn solid waste in incinerators to generate energy. However, incinerators may also pollute the air and produce hazardous ash that, in turn, has to be buried in landfills. Coastal cities commonly dump their solid waste several miles out into the ocean. The long-term effect of this practice also concerns environmentalists.

To reduce the amount of solid waste in landfills, many communities currently require residents to separate recyclables from other solid waste. In addition, many cities encourage homeowners to place yard waste, such as grass clippings and leaves, into compost piles to reuse as mulch, rather than sending it to landfills. Today, more than 60 percent of all aluminum cans and 40 percent of all paper is recycled.

Public Land Use. The federal government owns and oversees several hundred million acres of land in the western states. In Nevada, for example, the federal government owns 87 percent of the land. The government leases some 270 million acres to ranchers for cattle grazing, charging less than a third of the rate private landowners charge. However, in recent years, grazing on federal lands has come under environmental scrutiny. The Department of the Interior's Bureau of Land Management, which oversees most of these federal rangelands, reports that ranchers often allow their herds to stay in one place too long, which leads to overgrazing. Overgrazing results in the disappearance of many plant species, the polluting of streams, and the trampling of waterside vegetation that is key to protecting fish. A 1990 federal study evaluated the condition of rangelands overseen by the Bureau of Land Management, classifying most as fair or poor.

In 1994 and 1995, the Clinton administration tried to increase the grazing fees and impose new regulations for using public lands. These proposals met with resistance because ranchers contended that their businesses were already struggling to remain profitable and would not survive with increased public land fees. In addition, cattle industry officials argued that ranchers know the land and their business better than bureaucrats in Washington and that ranchers could better manage public lands without increased regulations.

Some ranchers have already begun to manage their livestock with greater environmental awareness, acknowledging that what is best for the land is best for their business. Moreover, some conservationists have instituted partnerships with ranchers because they know the alternatives—residential communities or recreational uses—are harsher on the land than cattle.

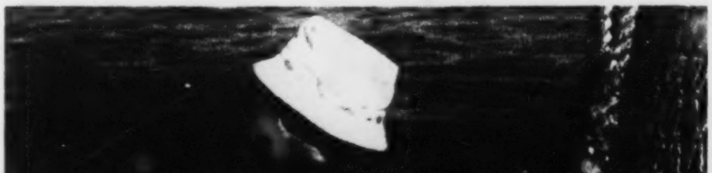
FLORIDA'S "CROWN JEWEL"

In 1990, Congress created the Florida Keys National Maritime Sanctuary in an attempt to protect Florida's declining 220-mile coral reef. Officials began implementing the sanctuary in 1997. Local residents, however, question the federal regulations and fear losing too much control over the management of what many consider to be a "crown jewel," or national treasure.

CURRENT ISSUES

Environmental Regulations. In November 1996, the Environmental Protection Agency proposed tightening the standards for compliance with the Clean Air Act. The EPA wants to lower limits for two kinds of air pollutants: particulates, or airborne particles, and ground-level ozone, which is caused by automobiles, factories, and power plants. Citing scientific evidence, the EPA states that the new restrictions are necessary to protect children, older Americans, and those who work outside. After a period of public debate, the EPA will try to enact these revisions in 1997.

Supporters of tightening environmental laws and regulations argue that they exist not to harm businesses but to protect public safety. They cite recent findings that air pollution can shorten the lives of people living in big cities as evidence that Congress should further



Archive Photos/David Hartman

The Food and Agriculture Organization, a United Nations agency, estimates that about 70 percent of global fish stocks are overfished or depleted. Dwindling stocks make it hard for people who fish, like the one shown here, to make a living.

increase standards for compliance with the Clean Air Act. Moreover, a recent study found that states with the healthiest environments also tend to have the best economies. Advocates of environmental regulations say that such laws have brought about significant improvements and that they can be made even more effective by increasing regulatory standards.

Industrial groups and many lawmakers, however, contend that the scientific evidence for such drastic tightening of the Clean Air Act is not convincing. They say that, if approved, such regulations would require factories and power plants to install equipment costing billions of dollars. Moreover, state and local governments would have to spend millions to ensure that they are abiding by the law. Critics argue that such expenditures would jeopardize many jobs and possibly require increased taxes on local residents. They think that environmental groups are urging greater regulation merely because they need to justify their missions in a world of fewer environmental hazards.

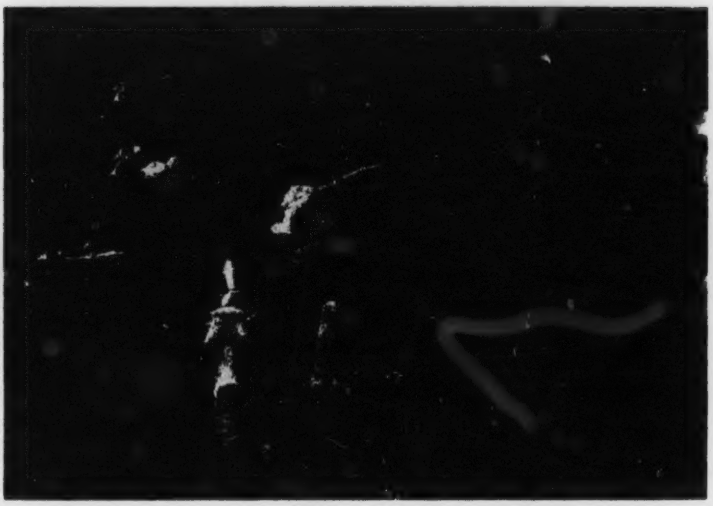
CHEMICAL WEAPONS CLEANUP

In 1986, Congress ordered the destruction of all chemical weapons. Policymakers must now decide how to get rid of 30,000 tons of nerve and blister gas stockpiled in nine sites across the United States. The Army wants to burn the chemicals in high-tech incinerators. However, some scientists, government officials, and residents fear that such destruction will release poison into the atmosphere.

Toxic Waste. Almost everyone agrees that toxic waste sites must be located and cleaned up. But who should pay the costs, and who should compensate the people whose homes have been contaminated by toxic wastes?

The 1980 Superfund legislation proposed that dumpers pay for the cleanup, but that until they are identified and fined, the EPA should start cleaning up, using funds collected through a special tax on oil and chemical companies. The Superfund law also gave people a longer time to sue manufacturers that created toxic waste hazards. Previously, people who believed they had been harmed by the wastes were often unable to sue because their illnesses developed after time limits set by state laws had expired.

Supporters of Superfund agree that the companies and individuals that created these hazards should be forced to pay. But finding the guilty parties is not always easy. Many toxic waste sites



The federal government leases some public land in western states to ranchers for their cattle to graze on. Concerns about resulting environmental damage on these lands have prompted some policymakers to propose new regulations.

Jack Wilburn/Animals Animals/Earth Scenes

are old, and records about what was dumped or who deposited the waste may not exist. Also, some companies that dumped pollutants years ago are no longer in business. As a result, the government cannot recoup expenses for the cleanup, and injured persons cannot sue a company they cannot identify.

Superfund costs taxpayers about $1.4 billion annually, prompting lawmakers to propose plans to reduce the program's costs. At the same time, many experts say that Superfund needs to be reformed to speed up toxic cleanup. Only 291 of the most serious sites had been cleaned between 1980 and 1996, and more than 1,200 sites remain on the priority list. Legislators have introduced bills that offer to refund companies half of the costs of cleaning up dumps created before 1987. Supporters say that this rule would encourage polluters to clean up sites faster and reduce the overall amount government spends. On the other hand, critics argue that this proposal would increase government costs in the short term and allow polluters to escape paying for their own hazardous waste cleanup.

Public Lands. In September 1996, President Clinton signed into law a proposal to create a national monument in the Escalante Canyon area of Utah. This event and recent proposals to further regulate public land use have revived a decade-long dispute over control of federal lands in the West. Many conservationists argue that public lands belong to the entire nation and should be managed for the national interest. They cite reports that blame environmental degradation on cattle ranching, mining, and logging on federal lands. Supporters of greater regulation of public land suggest that improved oversight by the Bureau of Land Management and the Forestry Service could help improve environmental conditions. They also reason that increased fees would force ranchers to better manage their businesses and the land.

On the other hand, many citizens in the West want fewer federal regulations and greater local control over the land in their states. They point out that many ranchers are already using evironmentally sound techniques because such plans are needed to keep their businesses running. Moreover, they do not want the government to increase grazing fees because they think their businesses are already just barely surviving. Critics say that low grazing fees and fewer regulations are necessary to preserve an American icon, the cowboy, and the ranching way of life.

OUTLOOK

Virtually every American wants clean water and air, the maintenance of national parks, and the survival of all plant and animal species—but many only want this at limited cost. The American public distrusts many types of federal government regulation and worries about the effect on the economy. Consequently, the campaign for new environmental laws has faced strong opposition, both by businesses and by people who rely on using federal lands in the West. Some Americans think that too many government regulations are unnecessary, reduce productivity and jobs, and often do not accomplish what they set out to do. However, dangers to the environment still exist. In deciding whether to support environmental laws, the American public must balance the potential harm to the environment with the economic benefits of less government regulation.

THE DEBATE: ENVIRONMENT

Environmental Regulations Should Be Tightened.

PRO: Even though environmental conditions have improved, air pollution continues to harm Americans. Under tighter regulations, factories and power plants would be forced to reduce air pollution even more. If the government does not reinforce Clean Air laws, the nation's commitment to environmental progress could be diminished and public health could worsen.

CON: Federal environmental regulations already impose great expenses on states and businesses and have resulted in job layoffs in many communities. Increased regulation would only harm the economy more. With today's improved environmental conditions, environmentalists are losing support. Thus, they are trying to drum up new issues with questionable scientific findings.

Polluters Should Pay for Toxic Waste Cleanup.

PRO: The American taxpayer should not have to pay for the actions of polluters. The government cannot allow industries to pollute the environment without penalty. Cleanup of environmental hazards is an expense of doing business and is not a cost that can be passed along to the public through higher taxes or increased health risk.

CON: One way or another, the cost of cleaning up the environment will fall on American citizens. Companies will either pass on the expense to consumers through higher prices, or they will go out of business, leaving the government to pay. The government is the best and most reliable agent to pay for cleaning up the environment.

The Government Should Further Restrict Public Land Use.

PRO: The condition of most rangelands overseen by the Bureau of Land Management is poor. Current low fees and lax regulations reward poor environmental practices. Raising grazing fees and imposing new regulations on public lands would force ranchers and others to run their businesses more efficiently and with less environmental damage. Federal lands belong to the American people, and our wilderness must be preserved.

CON: Many ranchers already realize that what is best for the land is best for their business. Several already operate in conjunction with environmental groups or move their livestock more frequently. Ranchers and other residents know the land better than federal bureaucrats. If the government keeps grazing fees low and allows greater freedom on public land, local citizens can more easily improve environmental conditions.

HEALTH CARE

Americans spend more on medical care than do people in any other nation—more than $950 billion in 1995. Some analysts believe that by 2000, the United States' annual health care bill will soar to $1.5 trillion. To address these issues, lawmakers in Washington have debated a variety of reform proposals to reduce health care costs.

Many believe that Medicare and Medicaid are in dire need of reform. These government programs, which provide health care to older, disabled, and low-income Americans, are very costly, and are responsible for a major portion of the annual federal budget deficit. Although a large number of citizens want the government to provide health care for vulnerable segments of society, many are alarmed at the spiraling cost of these programs. Many observers predict that unless Congress makes significant reforms, Medicare could go bankrupt by 2001.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should older Americans pay more for Medicare?
- Should more Americans move to managed health care plans?
- Should the federal government provide universal health care coverage?

Despite enormous health care expenditures, more than 37 million Americans do not receive adequate care. Many cannot afford private medical insurance and do not qualify for government programs. Even people who have insurance frequently discover that they cannot afford to pay the deductible (the amount of money patients must pay before their insurance coverage begins), so they do without medical treatment. Soaring medical costs and a growing number of uninsured Americans have contributed to what many believe is a health care crisis. How the federal government deals with this problem could determine the quality and accessibility of health care in the United States for years to come.

BACKGROUND

Making Health Care Accessible

The Push for Universal Health Care Coverage. Many Americans believe that the government should ensure that everyone receives adequate health care. Others, however, think that health care is a private responsibility. The debate over government financing for health care has been going on for more than eighty years.

In 1912, former president Theodore Roosevelt recommended that health insurance be provided for all Americans. In 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt considered making national health insurance a part of Social Security, his new program to provide financial help to older Americans. However, Roosevelt dropped this idea because he was afraid that a health insurance plan might hurt the Social Security Act's chances for congressional approval. After World War II, national health insurance became an issue again. President Harry Truman believed that "financial means should not determine the quality and quantity of medical services a citizen receives." He advocated passage of a comprehensive federal insurance program, but Congress blocked his effort.

In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson introduced civil rights legislation and promoted social programs designed to eliminate poverty and help bring economic well-being to all Americans. Johnson called his plan the Great Society. The capstone of the Great Society was the introduction in 1965 of government financing for health care through Medicare and Medicaid. These programs serve older, disabled, and low-income Americans.

Medicare. Today, more than 37 million older Americans and people with disabilities receive assistance through Medicare. Medicare consists of two parts. The first part helps pay for hospital nursing care. Each working person in the United States pays a special payroll tax to fund this hospital insurance. All retired recipients of

National Archives

In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law Medicare and Medicaid bills, which provide guaranteed health coverage to older and low-income Americans. Former president Harry Truman, a staunch advocate of national health insurance, looks on.

Social Security, retired railroad workers, and persons with disabilities are entitled to Medicare coverage, although they must pay a certain amount, called a deductible, before Medicare will cover hospital expenses. Recipients may also have to make additional payments to their doctors or hospitals to help meet costs that Medicare does not pay.

The second part of Medicare, supplemental medical insurance, covers 80 percent of doctors' fees, laboratory tests, and other medical expenses. Supplemental medical insurance is optional, and beneficiaries must pay a monthly premium to be eligible.

The Medicare Dilemma. The government spent more than $190 billion on Medicare in 1996, about 11 percent of total federal spending. In 1996, the Medicare Board of Trustees reported that the program will go bankrupt in 2001 unless reforms are implemented. Most members of Congress believe that the government cannot afford to continue increasing Medicare spending when other programs are being cut to reduce the budget deficit. For these reasons, Medicare reform has become a top legislative priority.

Some lawmakers believe that reforming Medicare is essential to accomplishing three related tasks: reducing the budget deficit, controlling health care costs, and ensuring that the program's funds do not run out. To prevent the program's insolvency, in 1995 and 1996 a majority of legislators in Congress advocated changes in Medicare, including raising the cost of premiums and encouraging senior citizens to join health maintenance organizations (HMOs). However, because the program is so popular with older Americans, many lawmakers have been hesitant to approve changes in its cost and the quality of care.

Medicaid. Medicaid is a joint federal-state program that helps millions of men and women with low incomes pay for health care. The federal government matches state funds for Medicaid; each state establishes its own eligibility requirements based on income and administers its own program. States follow federal regulations on paying for hospital care, long-term nursing care, doctors' fees, laboratory tests, and X-ray examinations. Medicaid also covers the fees and premiums for Medicare recipients who are near the poverty level. In 1996, the federal government spent $92 billion on Medicaid.

In 1997, President Clinton announced a plan that would expand Medicaid spending for children by $3 billion. If approved by Congress, the plan would provide health benefits to nearly 5 million uninsured children by 2000.

Rising Health Care Costs. Over the past twenty-five years, the cost of health care has increased much faster than has the overall cost of living. When Medicare and Medicaid were introduced in 1965, spending on medical services by the government, private insurers, and patients

CANCER DEATHS FALL

In 1996, the cancer death rate—the percentage of the U.S. population that dies from cancer each year—decreased steadily for the first time this century. Medical experts attribute the decline to an increased awareness that has motivated many Americans to quit smoking, limit sun exposure, and eat healthier foods. Improved medical treatments have also allowed people diagnosed with cancer to live longer. Despite the decline, cancer remains the second-leading cause of death in the United States.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

More than 37 million Americans lack proper health insurance, meaning they must pay at least a substantial cost of the health care services they receive. Various proposals in Congress seek to control costs, expand access to services, and guarantee health care to [illegible] Americans.

totaled about $41 billion a year, with the federal government providing $1.7 billion of the total. By 1995, annual health expenditures topped $950 billion. Some predict this figure will hit $1.5 trillion by 2000.

Most experts agree that three major developments have fueled the increase in health care costs: (1) the expansion of a system in which government and insurance companies, rather than patients, pay medical bills; (2) the introduction of expensive new medical technologies; and (3) the rapid growth of the older American population.

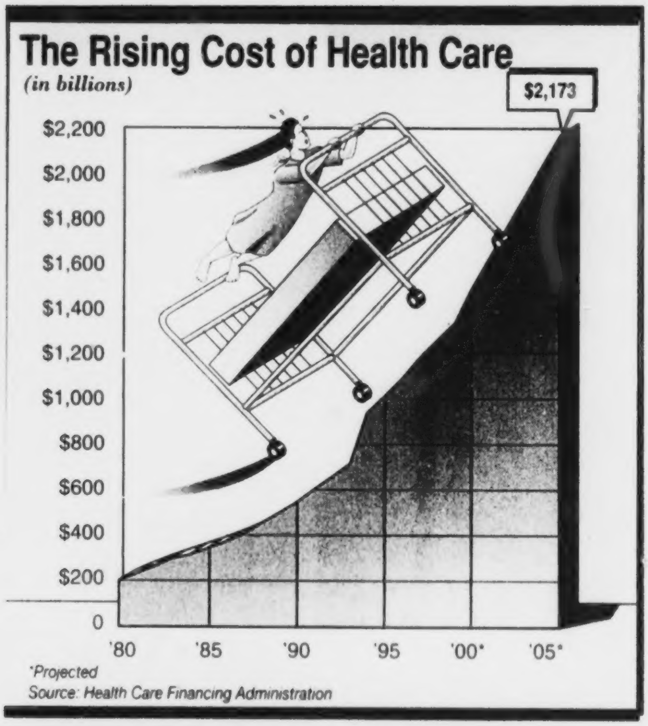
Government and Insurance Payments. Health care experts believe medical costs have risen because most health care services are paid for by private insurance companies and the government rather than by patients themselves. Some insurers, including the government, cover 90 percent of patients' hospital costs and 80 percent of fees doctors charge. Most insurers also use an "after-the-fact, fee-for-service" payment policy. Under this system, hospitals and doctors submit bills directly to insurance companies and are reimbursed for most of their costs. This method of payment has led to accusations that some doctors and hospitals charge higher prices and perform more services than may be necessary. Some doctors have even admitted to submitting bills for services that they did not provide. In general, patients have not been too concerned about health care costs because they trust their doctors' judgment and because they know their insurance companies will pay the bills.

New Technologies. The development of new technologies has increased health care costs. Some medical equipment is extremely expensive and requires highly trained, well-paid operators. Often, several hospitals in one area will buy the same expensive equipment and offer the same services to attract more

American Red Cross

New medical techniques and technologies allow doctors to provide better care for patients. However, the staff and equipment required to provide such care are often very expensive, raising the cost of medical care for private insurers, government-funded health care programs, and patients.

customers. The added costs of duplicated services and equipment that is infrequently used are passed on to patients and their insurers. Recent developments in medical technology have also made it possible to prolong life, adding significantly to overall health care costs. Today, organ transplants are commonplace, dialysis is available for kidney failures, respirators keep people breathing when their lungs fail, and machines assist diseased hearts. Doctors are trained to keep patients alive at all costs and to give them the best treatment possible, but these efforts sometimes cause severe financial strain for patients and their families.



The annual cost of health care in the United States has nearly doubled in the past decade. Some experts estimate that yearly health care costs will reach more than $1.5 trillion by 2000.

America Grows Older. For the average citizen, health care costs rise with age. Each older American consumes four times as much in medical services as a younger adult and eight times as much as a child.

The size of America's older population will dramatically increase as the "baby boom" generation (those born between 1946 and 1961) begins to retire early next century. Some experts believe that, by 2040, older Americans will account for about 25 percent of the U.S. population. Consequently, America's health care bills will soar.

Recent Reform Efforts. In response to the growing concern about the rising cost of health care in the United States, lawmakers in Washington have, in recent years, proposed a number of reform initiatives. In 1993, President Clinton proposed a major overhaul of the health care system. His plan was designed to provide medical coverage, funded by the federal government, to all Americans regardless of their income or employment status. However, Congress rejected the plan amid concerns about its costs and the government's ability to provide quality care.

Since then, lawmakers have focused their efforts on significantly smaller reform plans. In 1996, Congress passed the Health Insurance Portability Act, making it easier for people to keep their health insurance even if they change jobs or have a preexisting medical condition. The following year, President Clinton unveiled a plan to guarantee health care to more than 5 million uninsured children. In addition, both parties have proposed plans to decrease the cost of Medicare and to prevent private health care costs from spinning out of control. The current push for health care reform in Washington will likely be characterized by similar incremental, bipartisan efforts.

Malpractice. In recent years, liability insurance rates paid by doctors have increased sharply. The cost of malpractice lawsuits, brought by patients against doctors for improper care, has raised insurance rates to a point where many doctors say they can no longer pay their premiums.

Many experts argue that limiting the size of judgment awards in malpractice suits must be part of health care reform. If awards were limited, they say, patients and their families would sue less often and doctors would pay smaller premiums for insurance.

To avoid malpractice suits, many doctors practice what is called defensive medicine. In other words, to defend themselves, doctors order numerous tests and laboratory exams to make sure they correctly diagnose a patient. Such tests add greatly to health care costs. One study forecast that $36 billion could be saved over the next five years if health care providers stopped practicing defensive medicine.

Other Government Spending. In addition to Medicare and Medicaid, the U.S. government spends billions of dollars for other health-related programs, including disease prevention, research, training, and consumer health and safety. The federal government funds health research and training programs for doctors and nurses through the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; the National Institutes of Health; and the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration. Government scientists carry out about 85 percent of all health-related research in the country to find new treatments for cancer, heart disease, diabetes, allergies, AIDS, and other diseases.

The AIDS Crisis. One disease receiving a great deal of attention from federally sponsored researchers is acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). There is no known cure for AIDS and no vaccine against the virus that causes it. However, experts say that knowledge about AIDS and appropriate preventative measures can slow its spread.

AIDS is caused by a virus called the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). HIV attacks the body's white blood cells. White blood cells are part of the body's immune system, which helps guard against and fight off infections. When these cells are damaged, the body cannot easily fight off disease. Thus, people with AIDS often die from illnesses that would not have posed a threat to them if their immune systems had been functioning properly.

Since the illness was first recognized in the early 1980s, more than 500,000 Americans have been diagnosed with AIDS, and approximately 310,000 have died because of the disease. In 1994, AIDS became the leading cause of death among all Americans aged 25 to 44. However, 1996 marked the first year that deaths from AIDS actually fell since the epidemic began in the early 1980s. During the first six months of 1996, 22,000 people died from AIDS, compared to 24,000 during the same period in 1995.

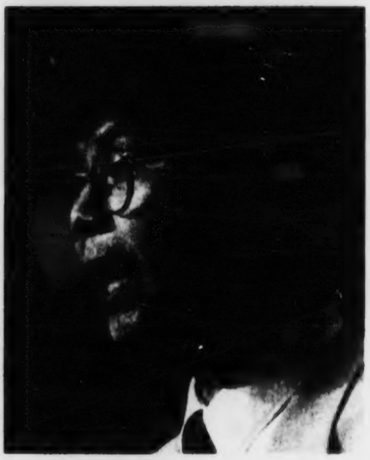
While the disease has had its most devastating effects in the United States on the homosexual male population, recently the biggest increase in AIDS cases has occurred among women. People primarily develop

AIDS after contact with blood or semen infected with HIV. The most common modes of transmission are unprotected sex and intravenous drug use with needles shared with others. Before health officials became aware of the AIDS threat, some people contracted the virus through transfusions of tainted donated blood.

Since then, health providers have developed testing measures to make the blood supply safer and have set standards to prevent transmission between health care workers and patients. Some cities distribute free condoms, and other cities, such as New York, sponsor needle-exchange programs in which drug users can turn in used needles for clean ones.

In 1996, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved an HIV test kit that can be used by private individuals in the home. Some AIDS activists applauded the move, saying it would encourage more people to get tested and could prevent the spread of the disease. Yet critics of the test say that only traditional blood tests can be completely accurate and that it is unethical to relay highly sensitive medical information, such as HIV test results, to patients over the telephone.

Over the past two years, the federal government's role in the fight against AIDS has increased. Most of the federal funds earmarked for AIDS are spent on research to find a cure for or immunization against the deadly disease. Some research money is used to test drugs to see if they are safe and effective for AIDS patients. The government spends most of the remaining funds on health care services for AIDS patients, as well as on education programs, television ads, and other major public information campaigns.



Archive Photos/Reuters/Jeff Vinnick

In a breakthrough in the fight against AIDS, Dr. David Ho (pictured here) and other medical researchers announced in 1996 that a combination of drug therapies they had developed appeared to control the AIDS virus and prolong the lives of patients. Dr. Ho was named "Man of the Year" by Time *magazine.*

CURRENT ISSUES

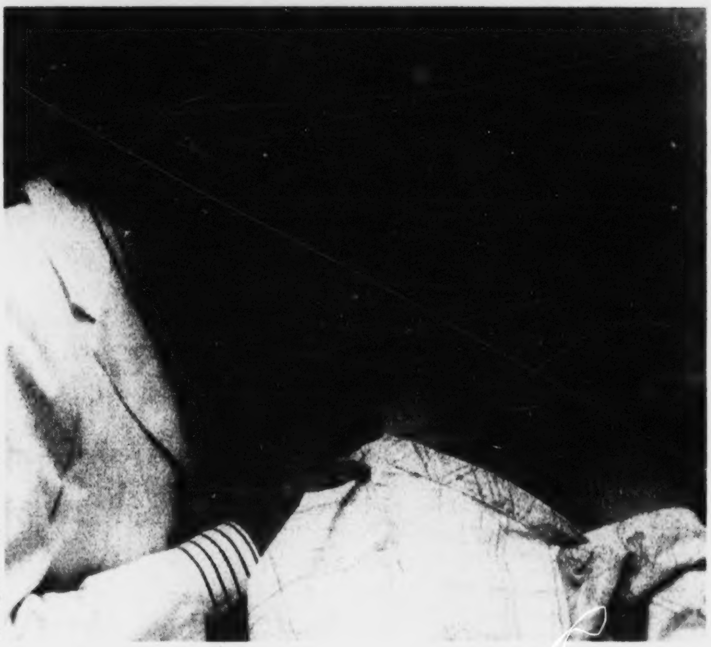
Medicare. Because Medicare affects older Americans, their families, hospitals, and health care professionals, these different groups have all followed the Medicare debate. In 1997, President Clinton proposed that Medicare funding be reduced by $138 billion over six years. Republicans in Congress called for slightly deeper cuts of $158 billion over the same time period. To save money, both sides suggested lowering adjustments for inflation in hospital costs and doctors' costs, and encouraging more older Americans to join health maintenance organizations.

Some lawmakers have suggested raising Medicare premiums to save money. Premiums are costs paid by Medicare recipients. Supporters of higher premiums argue that higher monthly payments are the most effective and fairest way to reform Medicare, and supporters say that Medicare premiums should be increased to reflect the rising cost of health care and inflation. They say that many older people can afford to pay slightly higher premiums. If recipients do not contribute more money to Medicare, the system could go bankrupt.

TEEN REGULATIONS

In 1995, in response to an alarming growth in teenage smoking rates, President Clinton gave the Food and Drug Administration the power to regulate the sale of tobacco products. The new regulations include stricter enforcement of laws prohibiting tobacco sales to minors, the elimination of cigarette vending machines, and a ban on tobacco advertising near schools and playgrounds. Tobacco companies challenged the laws, saying they amount to government interference and censorship of a legitimate private industry.

Close Up Foundation/Renee Bouchard

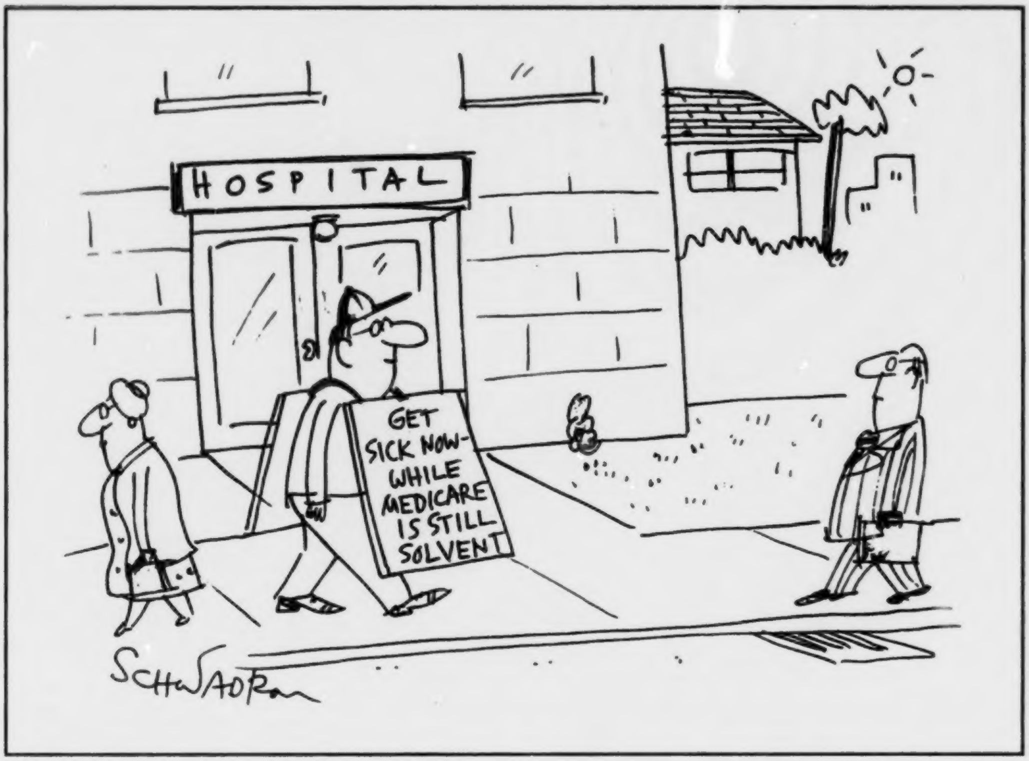


Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

The debate over proposed changes to Medicare has alarmed many older Americans, who on average spend about $2,800 a year on medical expenses. Lengthy hospital stays threaten the savings of many Medicare recipients, since more than three-fourths have an annual income of $25,000 or less.

Opponents of higher monthly premiums argue that millions of older Americans are living on fixed incomes and cannot afford to pay more for their health care. Older Americans point out that they must pay a deductible out of their own pocket before Medicare will pay any bills. More money for monthly premiums would mean less money for expensive prescription drugs or long-term nursing care. Opponents believe that reducing overall health care costs, not raising premiums, is a better way to save Medicare.

Managed Care. Some lawmakers and health experts believe that managed care is the wave of the future for U.S. health care. Health maintenance organizations are the most common managed care plans. HMOs offer consumers a range of medical benefits for a set monthly fee. Managed care plans contain costs by monitoring health care professionals, requiring preauthorization for hospital visits, and limiting access to expensive medical specialists. Many experts attributed a drop in medical costs paid by employers in 1994 to the growing percentage of employees and their families who are enrolled in managed care plans. About two-thirds of


HOSPITAL
GET SICK NOW-WHILE MEDICARE IS STILL SOLVENT
SCHWADRON

Harley L. Schwadron

all Americans with private health insurance are now enrolled in managed care plans.

Proponents of managed care argue that it offers the only solution to skyrocketing health care costs. While they concede that some managed care operators save money by denying or delaying proper medical care, supporters believe that better federal oversight of managed care plans and better information for potential enrollees could reduce this risk. Supporters also point to opinion polls showing that more than 80 percent of the people who participate in managed care plans are satisfied with the quality of the health care they receive.

However, critics of managed care argue that HMOs and similar plans are more concerned with cutting costs by limiting treatment than they are with providing quality health care. Many Americans are nervous about enrolling in managed care plans because they are afraid their services will be cut and they will have to surrender the freedom to choose their doctors and types of treatment. Opponents say older Americans would be the most adversely affected by managed care because their treatment is usually more expensive.

Universal Health Coverage. Should the U.S. government provide health care for all its people? Many national leaders believe it should. They say that health care is not a product, like a car or a television, but a necessity, and that the government should ensure that everyone receives adequate health care. In September 1993, President Clinton unveiled an ambitious health care reform proposal, called the Health Security Act. The plan aimed to control rising health care costs, but its primary goal was to extend health care coverage to all Americans. The president declared that every American should be provided with "Health Security" that could never be taken away.

However, the Health Security Act failed to win support from lawmakers and the American public. Critics called it overly bureaucratic, and said it imposed government control on the U.S. health care system. Despite the Clinton proposal's demise, most Americans believe that the country should continue to strive for universal health care coverage. Supporters of universal coverage point out that the United States and South Africa are the only industrialized nations that do not guarantee their citizens' health care.

Opponents of universal health care contend that the government cannot afford to provide the high quality of health care service to which many insured Americans are accustomed, and that in the case of some rare or elaborate procedures, services might even have to be rationed. They argue that any national insurance plan would inevitably lead to large and inefficient bureaucracies. In addition, many experts say that the health care system needs only to be reformed, not overhauled. They point out that almost 80 percent of the population already has hospital insurance, which they believe makes dramatic action on health care unnecessary. In addition, many experts argue that most universal coverage plans would hurt those Americans—the overwhelming majority—who receive quality care under the current system.

OUTLOOK

The debate over Medicaid and Medicare centers around the federal government's obligation to older, disabled, and low-income Americans. However, because Medicare consumes a huge portion of the federal budget and could go bankrupt in a few years, many Americans question to what extent the federal government can afford to continue to subsidize health care for these vulnerable Americans. While some Americans believe that the federal government is too involved in many aspects of ordinary life—including health care—others view the proposals not as a reform, but as a detrimental rewriting of the social contract with older and low-income Americans.

THE DEBATE: HEALTH CARE

Older Americans Should Pay More for Medicare.

PRO: Medicare is one of the fastest-growing segments of the federal budget. In less than seven years, Medicare will go bankrupt unless changes are made. Charging higher premiums to recipients is the least painful way to raise money for Medicare. Many older Americans are able to afford to higher premiums, while many younger taxpayers who help pay for this program do not have medical insurance themselves.

CON: Many low-income Medicare recipients live on a fixed income and can barely afford Medicare's deductible and the cost of prescription drugs and long term nursing home care. Low-income older Americans, who have been assisted by Medicaid, may no longer receive any assistance and may be denied access to health care. As health care costs increase, many people could spend their life savings on one hospital stay.

More Americans Should Move to Managed Health Care Plans.

PRO: As health care costs rise, managed care offers the best option for consumers. A growing number of Americans are joining managed care plans such as health maintenance organizations. While these plans do limit patients' choice of doctors and cut back on specialized care, they negotiate lower fees and eliminate waste—producing large savings and making health care affordable for millions of Americans.

CON: Managed care plans are more concerned with containing costs than with providing high-quality health care. These plans save money by limiting patient care, not by cutting waste and finding the most medically appropriate treatment. Older Americans in particular would be denied the specialized care they need. Americans should not sacrifice quality health care for their fellow citizens to bring down health care costs.

The Federal Government Should Provide Universal Health Care Coverage.

PRO: The United States is one of the only industrialized countries that does not guarantee health care for all its citizens. It is a national disgrace that people in the United States spend more on health care than do the residents of any other nation, and yet about 37 million Americans do not have adequate health insurance. The nation needs a plan that will extend universal coverage and contain costs. Achieving that goal should be a top national priority for lawmakers.

CON: Guaranteeing health care coverage for all Americans is too expensive. Almost 80 percent of the population is now covered by insurance, and the people who are not would be best served by more competition in the health care industry. Proposed government plans are too complex and rely too much on government intervention. The United States should make smaller reforms to improve access to health care, without guaranteeing universal coverage.

IMMIGRATION

The United States was built by immigrants, many seeking a new life in a new land. Before 1882, anyone could move to the United States. But as the population grew, the federal government decided to control immigration. The first immigration laws limited the number of newcomers from certain countries—China, for example—so that the ethnic makeup of the United States would be preserved. In 1965, the government passed new laws that limited not only the number of immigrants from Europe, Asia, and Africa, but also, for the first time, immigrants from countries in the Western Hemisphere. Today, the United States admits approximately 900,000 legal immigrants every year. However, immigration is swelled by another 300,000 people who illegally cross the borders of the United States each year.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Is legal immigration hurting the U.S. economy?
- Should the United States adopt English as its official language?
- Should the government deny social services to illegal immigrants?

Unlike previous waves of immigrants who dispersed more evenly throughout the country, the newcomers of the last thirty years have settled primarily in certain regions. Thus, in areas like the American Southwest, California, and Florida, recent immigrants—many of them Latinos—reside in greater percentages than in other areas. This trend has created assimilation problems. As a result, some Americans perceive the country as being overwhelmed by immigrants (legal and illegal), and they have asked policymakers to create new laws that discourage immigration.

In 1996, President Bill Clinton signed into law three bills that may have a broad impact on immigration control and immigrants' rights in the United States. The controversy surrounding this legislation has made immigration one of the most divisive public policy issues of the decade.

BACKGROUND

U.S. Immigration Policy

Unlimited Immigration. The United States was founded and settled by immigrants. At first, the country was open to anyone wishing to make a new start. Many came to America to escape war, poverty, famine, or religious persecution. Others came seeking their fortune in a land where the streets were said to be paved with gold, a myth spread in Europe by some steamship companies seeking passengers. And some were brought against their will to work as slaves. These and other factors resulted in a large-scale influx of immigrants to the United States from around the world.

Quotas. The first immigration laws were aimed at nonwhites. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act suspended immigration from China for sixty years. In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated an informal

National Archives

From 1880 to 1920, more than 23 million immigrants—most of them from southern and eastern Europe—came to the United States seeking a new life. Here, a family from Italy arrives at Ellis Island in New York Harbor in the early twentieth century.

"gentlemen's agreement" with Japan, under which the United States promised to desegregate California schools, which had separated Japanese students from others. In return, the Japanese government promised to stop the emigration of its citizens. By 1900, however, Americans were complaining about European immigration as well.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe crowded into U.S. cities. Some Americans viewed the newcomers as a threat to the rising standard of living because immigrants would work long hours for little pay. In addition, an anticommunist mood after World War I made some U.S. citizens suspicious of anyone who seemed "foreign." Many believed that these new immigrants were racially and culturally inferior to people of northern and western European descent who had come to America earlier. Some thought that the new immigrants would be less able to learn English and be assimilated, or absorbed, into American culture. As a result, many U.S. citizens called for limits on further immigration.

Early immigration laws aimed to preserve the racial, religious, and ethnic composition of the United States at the time. A law passed by Congress in 1921 encouraged immigration from Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia because natives of these lands seemed more likely to assimilate. Meanwhile, the law discouraged immigration from eastern and southern Europe. The 1921 law limited annual immigration from any given country to no more than 3 percent of the number of people from that country living in the United States according to the 1910 census. Congress restricted immigration even further in 1924 by using the 1890 census as a benchmark instead of the 1910 census and by reducing percentages from each country to 2 percent.

In response to popular prejudices of the time, Congress passed the National Origins Act in 1929, sharply limiting immigration by people of "less desirable" heritage. Of the annual quota of 150,000 immigrants, 70 percent were to come from Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries; the remaining 30 percent were limited to countries in southern and eastern Europe.

Displaced Persons Act of 1948. World War II left millions of people around the world homeless. In his 1947 State of the Union address, President Harry Truman encouraged Congress to admit more immigrants. In 1948, Congress passed the Displaced Persons Act, which admitted some of the homeless people. However, the law was criticized because it required each immigrant to pass a security check and to have proof of employment and housing that would not threaten U.S. citizens' jobs and homes.

McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. In 1952, Congress passed, and President Truman signed into law, the McCarran-Walter Act, which revised the 1929 National Origins Act. People of all races would now be eligible for immigration into the United States. But McCarran-Walter further tightened controls over aliens and immigrants by adding ideology to nationality as a criterion for admission to the United States. Passed partly because of the "Red Scare" of the 1950s, the act sought to weed out people with even marginal communist backgrounds or sympathies.

The McCarran-Walter Act was overturned in 1990, when Congress made it illegal for the U.S. government to deny anyone entry into the country on the basis of beliefs, statements, or associations. However, the secretary of state can still exclude people for ideological reasons if the government has a "compelling" foreign policy interest in keeping them out. For example, terrorists and others who threaten national security can be denied entry.

Immigration Act of 1965. The 1965 Immigration Act represented a major reform of all previous immigration laws. It abolished quotas that discriminated against

CITIZENSHIP REQUIREMENTS

To become a citizen of the United States, a person must be legally admitted to the country for permanent residence and must satisfy several requirements. One requirement is demonstrating a knowledge of American history and government. Following are sample questions from the citizenship test.

- Who is the chief justice of the Supreme Court?
- Which countries were our principal allies during World War II?
- What is the Bill of Rights?
- Can you name the thirteen original states?
- Who said, "Give me liberty or give me death"?

nationalities, substituting an overall limit of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere. But the 1965 act also limited immigration from Western Hemisphere countries for the first time to 120,000 annually, thereby touching off a serious illegal immigrant problem. For Latin Americans, the United States had long been a haven from the poverty and civil war of their homelands. Before 1965, thousands of jobs requiring low-wage labor had been filled by Mexicans and Central Americans who needed only to apply for temporary or permanent visas to be admitted legally.

Immigration quotas still allow some Latin Americans to enter the United States legally. But since the 1965 limitations were put in place, many have come illegally, working in low-paying, unskilled jobs such as harvesting crops or cleaning office and apartment buildings.

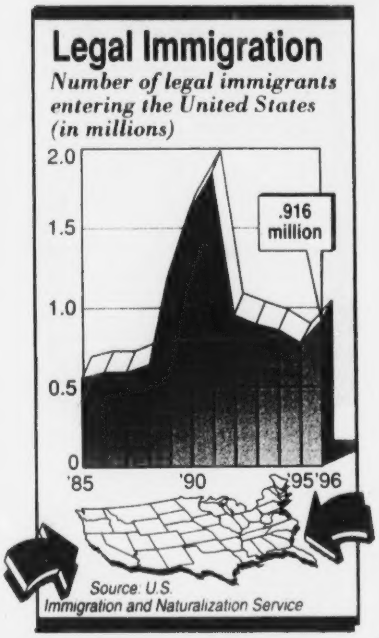
Some say that Americans exploit illegal aliens. Because they lack legal status, illegal immigrants are often paid salaries below minimum wage. For years, they have been reluctant to complain about low wages or harsh working conditions because they feared that they would be fired or that their actions would be reported to immigration officials and they would be deported. But even when they earn below-minimum wages, hard-working illegal aliens have often prospered in the United States, earning much more than they could in their homelands.

Refugee Act of 1980. Before 1980, only a special act of Congress could admit groups of refugees—most often individuals fleeing communism. For example, in 1976, Congress passed special laws to admit 565,000 refugees who fled Southeast Asia after South Vietnam came under communist control. However, in 1980, lawmakers made a major change in immigration policy by passing the Refugee Act.

The Refugee Act of 1980 legally defined a refugee as someone who flees a country because of persecution "on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." The act authorizes the president, in consultation with Congress, to establish an annual ceiling on the number of refugees who may enter the United States. The act also allows the president to admit any group of refugees in an emergency.

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 was designed to stop the flow of illegal immigration from Latin America by imposing sanctions against employers who hire illegal aliens. At the same time, the law gave illegal aliens who had been living in the United States since 1982 the opportunity to become legal citizens.

While many employers have been complying with this law, the number of illegal immigrants working in the United States has not decreased significantly. Moreover, as a result of the amnesty program, legal immigration increased sharply between 1989 and 1992.



Legal Immigration

Number of legal immigrants entering the United States (in millions)

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

Many citizens debate how many immigrants should be allowed to enter the United States.

Immigration Act of 1990. The Immigration Act of 1990 increased the number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States by nearly 40 percent. From 1992 to 1994, the United States opened its doors to about 700,000 legal immigrants a year, an increase from the previous limit of 540,000. The law also increased the number of visas for skilled immigrants, such as engineers and scientists.

Immigration Today

Backlash Against Newcomers. In 1996, more than 900,000 legal immigrants and an estimated 300,000 illegal immigrants settled in the United States. Overall, the Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that about 5 million illegal immigrants currently reside in the United States. Consequently, the presence of both legal and illegal immigrants has contributed to dramatic changes in the racial, ethnic, and cultural composition of the United States.

Many Americans believe that their country cannot absorb more immigrants. They contend that newcomers take jobs away from Americans—particularly low-skilled workers—because they enlarge the labor pool and are willing to work for lower wages. In addition, advocates of immigration restrictions point to the large cost of health and education benefits for illegal immigrants.

Critics of restrictions argue that immigrants are important. They turn around the job argument, asserting that immigrants accept low-skill, low-wage jobs that many native-born Americans will not. Moreover, these critics say, immigrants come to the United States with a diligent work ethic that increases the country's productivity and helps the economy. They also point out an undercurrent of racism in many of the comments of those in favor of restriction. Many economists argue that, in general, immigrants help the economy more than they harm it.

Is America Still a Melting Pot? Some people argue that restrictions on immigration are necessary to main-

AMERICA
LAND
IMMIGRANTS

Archive Photos/Reuters/Bruce Young

To protest recent welfare and immigration reform laws, tens of thousands of Hispanics organized their first major march in Washington, D.C., in October 1996.

tain what they see as the national identity of the United States. The great increase in arrivals from developing countries, especially those in Latin America and Asia, has brought dramatic changes to some parts of the United States, notably in California, Florida, and New York. In these states as well as in communities in the Southwest, Spanish is the language most commonly spoken by immigrants.

Many Americans believe that a common language binds people in a society together. They fear that a bilingual society will splinter the country along cultural and racial lines. However, others think that English-only arguments are racist and may prevent people from voting or participating in other American democratic traditions.

Proposition 187. About 40 percent of all illegal immigrants in the United States reside in California, straining the state's budget and the tolerance of other residents. Generally, illegal immigrants are not eligible for welfare grants such as unemployment or Social Security. However, children and parents in need are entitled to some services. Officials in California say that supporting that population costs the state $3 billion annually.

In November 1994, voters in California overwhelmingly approved the "Save Our State" amendment, better known as Proposition 187. That law would deny illegal aliens all public social services, public nonemergency health care based on financial need, and public education. Proposition 187 was immediately challenged in court by civil rights and immigrant advocacy groups, so by early 1997 it had not yet taken effect. Some experts predicted that the legality of the amendment would eventually be decided by the Supreme Court.

Recent Federal Legislation. Heated criticism of U.S. immigration policy has resulted in new laws at the federal level as well. In 1996, the 104th Congress passed

NEW INS PROGRAM VERIFIES WORKER ELIGIBILITY

In October 1995, the Immigration and Naturalization Service began a pilot program to verify immigrants' work status for employers in two communities in Southern California. Since then, the voluntary program has been expanded to include computer checks for 1,000 employers around the country.

and President Clinton signed into law three controversial bills pertaining to immigration. Legal experts predict that the courts will have to rule on many of the new provisions because they challenge previous court rulings on the rights of immigrants. While some people think these measures will discourage people from coming to the United States, critics contend that the legislation does not address the real reasons people immigrate—poverty in their home countries and job opportunities in the United States.

1996 Anti-Terrorism Act. One provision in the Anti-Terrorism Act hastens the procedures for deportation of immigrants with criminal records. It also expands the number of crimes punishable by detention and deportation. Supporters believe that people who break the law have forfeited their right to live in this country. However, critics assert that these provisions of the Anti-Terrorism Act deny immigrants their legal right to a hearing.

Welfare Overhaul. In August 1996, President Clinton signed a sweeping new welfare reform bill. This legislation makes illegal immigrants ineligible for virtually all federal and state benefits except emergency medical care, immunization programs, and disaster relief. It also denies current legal immigrants food stamps and Supplemental Security Income—a program for older, blind, and disabled people. Supporters hailed

THE ECONOMICS OF IMMIGRATION

Current immigration policies attract more unskilled than skilled workers, a policy that benefits some Americans and harms others. Unskilled workers in the United States have trouble finding jobs and their wages are lower; at the same time, companies benefit. Simultaneously, consumers benefit from cheaper goods and services, while they bear the tax burden of supporting immigrants who use social services. Some economists argue that immigration policies should instead favor skilled workers, because such workers would pay more in taxes and be less likely to rely on welfare. They also suggest basing immigration policy on the business cycle—admitting more people when the economy is strong and fewer when unemployment is high.

the new law, stating that it will help states such as California in their effort to discourage illegal immigration. Critics are concerned that state officials will be allowed to determine an applicant's legal status, which they argue denies immigrants' basic rights.

1996 Immigration Act. This immigration reform law is the most extensive immigration legislation passed by Congress in a decade. The new law doubles the border patrol force to 10,000 agents over five years and adds fences in the most heavily-trafficked areas of the U.S.–Mexico border. It also includes a pilot program to check the immigration status of job applicants. To ensure passage of the bill, several controversial measures were dropped, such as denying schooling to children of illegal immigrants and deporting legal immigrants who rely on public assistance for extended periods. While this law focuses primarily on illegal immigration, some specialists predict that the 105th Congress will soon address issues pertaining to legal immigrants as well.

CURRENT ISSUES

Immigrants and the U.S. Economy. While hundreds of thousands of legal immigrants are living and working in the United States, many people wonder if legal immigration is good for the American economy. Some Americans want to further restrict legal immigration. Some even advocate a temporary moratorium, or stop, on all legal immigration. They believe America needs to assimilate the immigrants already here before admitting the next wave.

Proponents of placing more restrictions on legal immigration question whether the United States needs to admit more than 900,000 people annually. Although supporters of tighter restrictions acknowledge that the United States depended upon immigrant labor during the Industrial Revolution, they say no labor shortage exists now. On the contrary, proponents argue that skilled immigrants are taking jobs away from qualified American citizens. Moreover, supporters argue that the

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Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

Immigrants from East Asia have brought dramatic changes to many areas of the United States. In communities with large Asian populations, signs written in Chinese characters are common.

country no longer needs to populate its wilderness, as it did in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In fact, many Americans contend that the current population of the United States already strains the country's natural resources and environment.

Those who oppose further restrictions believe that highly skilled legal immigrants help the economy. Many members of the business community say that they cannot find enough multilingual and scientifically trained American workers to help keep the United States competitive in the global economy. Therefore, American companies recruit immigrants to fill this void. Critics of tighter restrictions think that legal immigrants have provided American firms with specialized job skills and thereby helped these industries grow. Thus, legal immigrants have helped strengthen the economy and improve the U.S. standard of living. Finally, many experts point out that more immigrants means more consumers of American goods and services, further helping the economy.

English Only? As the number of immigrants from Latin America and Asia has increased, many Americans have felt the presence of another culture in their community. In 1995, many people were disturbed to see some recent immigrants taking the U.S. naturalization pledge in Spanish rather than English. Responding to their concern, some members of

Congress advocated that the United States adopt English as its official language.

Supporters of adopting English as America's official language believe that English unifies the nation, and that non-English-speaking immigrants are isolated because they cannot talk with Americans who only speak English. Making English the official language would encourage immigrants to learn the language. Many people, including some recent immigrants, think that the government wastes taxpayers' money by printing tax forms, laws, and court proceedings in other languages. Some English-only proponents believe that the U.S. government should focus on teaching English to immigrants, so they can find jobs and assimilate into American society. Otherwise, they say, immigrants may not be able to find jobs, and will rely on expensive government social service programs.

Other Americans believe that making English the official language of the United States would fundamentally exclude some people from voting, understanding U.S. laws, or participating in America's judicial system. These opponents of the English-only movement argue that the movement is fueled by a fear of immigrants, not economic reasons. Critics point out that not only have immigrants assimilated into America throughout its history without being obligated to speak English, but they have made many social, political, and economic contributions to U.S. society along the way.

Denying Benefits to Illegal Immigrants. Though new laws have been passed since California's Proposition 187, the debate over the rights of immigrants to receive social benefits continues. Many taxpayers in states with large numbers of illegal immigrants express outrage at the spiraling cost of social programs. Many Americans believe that the government, by providing free services to undocumented immigrants, is unintentionally encouraging people to enter the United States illegally. People who want to deny social services to illegal immigrants argue that would-be illegal aliens would think twice before crossing the border once they realized that they would not get free medical care and education in the United States.

Although most Americans agree that illegal immigration is a problem, many oppose denying social services to undocumented aliens and their children. They think such laws will not discourage illegal immigration because foreigners come to the United States primarily to work, not to collect social benefits. Opponents point to studies indicating that illegal immigrants rely on social benefits in the same proportions as other Americans. They argue that preventing immigrants from receiving medical care and education services will result in an unhealthy, uneducated underclass. Many critics believe that the government should instead focus its anti–illegal immigration policies on controlling the U.S.–Mexican border.

OUTLOOK

As more and more people of different races and cultures enter the United States and the racial composition of the country changes, immigration becomes a more intensely debated issue. Some Americans favor tighter immigration restrictions and argue that immigrants take jobs away from Americans, resist learning English, and drain social services. Others, however, point to America's historical commitment to immigration and believe that immigrants keep the nation economically competitive, strong, and culturally rich. The question of whether America's doors should be open or closed will continue to be debated in the courts, in Congress, and in communities where immigrants tend to settle.

THE DEBATE: IMMIGRATION

Legal Immigration Is Hurting the U.S. Economy.

PRO: Legal immigration by highly skilled people takes away jobs from qualified American citizens. Although this country relied upon immigrant labor during the Industrial Revolution, there is no labor shortage in the United States now. Consequently, the influx of immigrants results in higher unemployment for U.S. citizens and strains the economy.

CON: Legal immigrants help the U.S. economy. To be competitive in the global marketplace, America's companies require multilingual and technically skilled employees. There are too few qualified American workers for these positions. Additionally, legal immigrants are consumers of American goods and services, and thereby strengthen the U.S. economy.

The United States Should Adopt English As Its Official Language.

PRO: A common language unifies a country. Adopting English as the official U.S. language would help immigrants assimilate more quickly. Furthermore, success in America requires proficiency in English. Otherwise, immigrants risk self-segregation, reduced job prospects, and reliance on costly social services. Besides, making English the official language would not bar people from speaking their native language in many settings.

CON: Establishing English as America's official language would send a signal to immigrants that their culture and heritage are not welcome in the United States. Immigrants from diverse backgrounds give the United States many economic, social, and political strengths. Printing all government forms in English would make it harder for many immigrants to participate in American democracy. Racism and fear drive the English-only movement.

The Government Should Deny Social Services To Illegal Immigrants.

PRO: Many people enter the United States illegally because they know they will receive free medical care and education. Immigrants' demands for social services place an unfair burden on U.S. taxpayers. The government should not encourage the entry of aliens who drain social services and take jobs away from American citizens. By denying benefits, the government would remove these incentives and reduce illegal immigration.

CON: People come to the United States to work, not to sap public benefits. Besides, taking away services from illegal immigrants would create an underclass of uneducated and unhealthy people. Educating the children of illegal immigrants would help turn them into productive Americans. The burden of undocumented immigrants on states has been exaggerated by people who are motivated more by racism than by fiscal concerns.

POVERTY

In 1995, more than 36 million people in the United States lived in poverty, or about one in every seven Americans. Although the poverty rate had dipped from the previous year, the problems facing the less fortunate continued to be at the center of debate on Capitol Hill, in state legislatures, and in neighborhoods across the country. Lawmakers and citizens disagree over the causes of poverty and what should be done to eradicate it, or at least reduce it.

At the center of this discussion is the federal government's role in assisting the poor through welfare programs like Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), food stamps, and Medicaid. In recent years, these programs have been criticized, as poverty and homelessness seemed to get worse even while spending increased. Lawmakers and citizens began to stress responsibility and work instead of guarantees from the government. Beginning in the 1980s, many Americans questioned the effectiveness of federal welfare programs and said it was time for experimentation and new ideas. Indeed, some even believe several programs have made the problem of poverty worse.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Will states do a better job controlling welfare?
- Should the government reduce financial assistance to the working poor?
- Should the government expand empowerment zones in impoverished areas?

How to reform welfare was one of the most divisive legislative debates of the 104th Congress, culminating in the passage of a sweeping welfare reform bill that ended the sixty-year-old guarantee of federal cash assistance to the poor. After much debate within his own administration, President Bill Clinton signed the bill into law.

Even many who supported the bill were unsure about what it would bring: Would it lead to increased poverty and suffering for millions of needy citizens, or provide the mechanism with which local governments could help welfare recipients break the cycle of poverty and improve their own lives?

BACKGROUND

Poverty in America

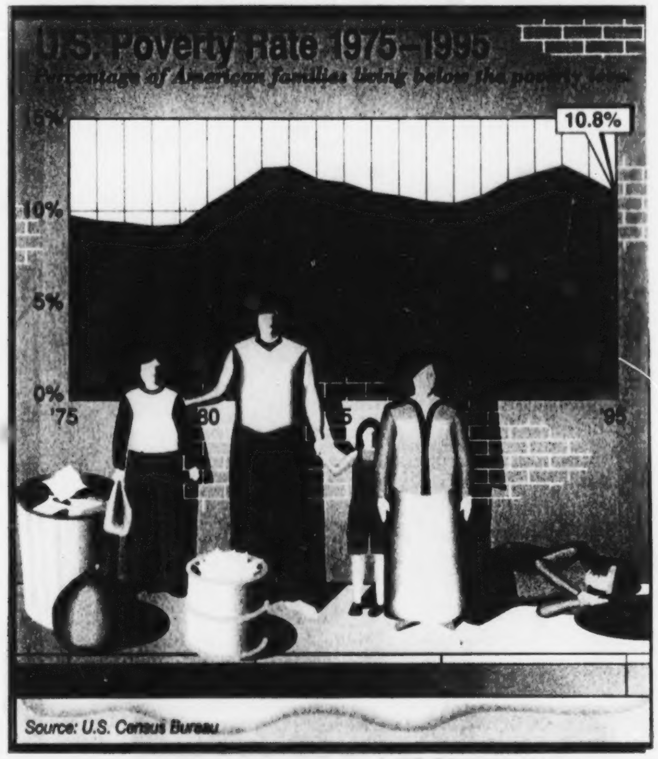
In 1996, the federal government defined the poverty threshold as $15,569 for a family of four; $12,158 for a family of three. In other words, families were classified as living in poverty if their annual income fell below that level. By this definition, in 1995, 36.4 million Americans—almost 14 percent of the U.S. population—lived in poverty. In 1975, 26 million Americans were living below the poverty line.

Poverty in America was at its worse during the Great Depression, when the unemployment rate reached 25 percent in 1932. The population suffered widespread hardship; millions of Americans were homeless and hungry. The Depression was the worst economic crisis to face the United States. Since then, the country has endured numerous economic recessions, but they have usually been quite brief and have not created anything like the poverty seen during the 1930s. Although the poverty level in the United States has remained somewhat stable over the last thirty years, it is still one of the highest in the industrialized world.

Who Are the Poor? Poverty affects certain groups more than others. Historically, low-income Americans included the elderly, disabled, single mothers, and some minority groups. For example, African Americans and Latinos

Close Up Foundation/Renee Bouchard

About 36 million Americans still live in poverty. Many victims of poverty, like the man pictured here, are homeless.



The poverty rate in the United States is one of the highest in the industrialized world.

are more likely to be in poverty than white Americans. Today, single mothers and their children make up about one-third of the nation's poor. Working women generally earn less than men, and a single mother often faces additional problems of caring for her children and running a household. Children have become, in the words of one expert, "the face of poverty." According to the National Center for Children in Poverty, about 6 million children, one-quarter of the nation's total, lived in poverty in 1995, an increase of almost 40 percent since the mid-1970s.

What Causes Poverty? Americans disagree on the causes of poverty. While most agree that the lack of educational opportunity is a major reason, some believe that the capitalist economic system divides the population into rich and poor. A lack of job opportunities, particularly in the inner cities, is another reason. Others cite behavioral factors that may promote dependence, such as alcoholism, drug abuse, and the inability to find or hold a steady job. Because there are disagreements over the roots of poverty, lawmakers face difficult decisions about the best way to reduce it.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

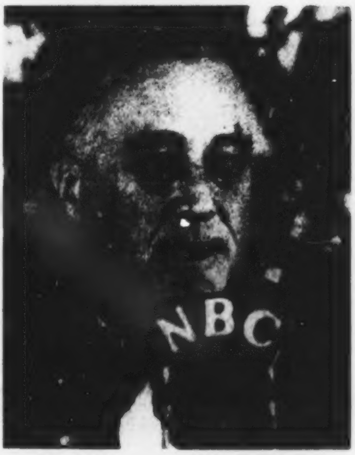
The Federal Government's Role In Fighting Poverty

Prior to the Great Depression, aid to the nation's needy citizens was primarily the role of private charities, families, and churches; the federal government's role was quite small. However, the economic catastrophe of the Great Depression of the 1930s compelled lawmakers in Washington to implement new policies to protect the nation's most vulnerable citizens. Thus, the New Deal was born.

The New Deal. When millions of Americans fell into poverty during the early 1930s, the states were ill-equipped financially to provide for the needy, and there was no federal policy in place to provide aid to low-income people. President Franklin Roosevelt and Congress wrote landmark legislation, known collectively as the "New Deal," to combat the effects of the Great Depression. The new legislation included massive job programs that provided work for unemployed Americans. Other programs focused on people who did not work because of their age or a disability. Two programs in particular came to symbolize the new social welfare of the United States: Social Security and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

Social Security. Formally named Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance, Social Security was created in 1935 by the Social Security Act to provide assistance to low-income elderly Americans. The largest social program today, Social Security is a self-perpetuating trust fund with its own income and is financed by equal contributions from employer and employee. The amount individuals receive is based on their average monthly earnings over a number of years while they were working. All citizens over 65, regardless of income, are eligible to receive varying levels of Social Security benefits.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Also created in 1935 as part of the Social Security Act, AFDC was the program most often associated with the term "welfare," although it was only one of several welfare programs.



FDR Library

President Franklin Roosevelt introduced his New Deal programs during the Great Depression of the 1930s, citing what he believed was the need for the federal government to come to the aid of disadvantaged men and women.

AFDC payments went to low-income families with children under 18 in which one or both parents were deceased, incapacitated, absent, or unemployed. In practice, most payments went to single mothers. The federal government and the states shared AFDC costs, which grew dramatically during the recession of the early 1990s. In 1995, 14 million people received AFDC benefits, totaling about $17 billion. In 1996, the program was ended after sixty-one years by President Clinton and Congress in a welfare reform law that handed authority to the states.

The Great Society. The legacy of Roosevelt's New Deal continued with President Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty." In 1964, President Johnson declared that no society could be great with poverty in its midst. Along with major civil rights legislation, Johnson implemented social programs designed to eliminate poverty by moving people up the economic ladder through vocational education and job training. He also promoted programs to help poor and older Americans get enough food and adequate health care. Johnson called his plan the Great Society.

Food Stamps. The Department of Agriculture instituted the federal food stamp program in 1964 to ensure that people with little or no income would have enough to eat. Instead of providing money, the food stamp program gives coupons, or vouchers, that are redeemable only for food. In 1996, the U.S. government spent about $27 billion on food stamps.

Medicaid and Medicare. Since 1965, Medicaid has provided low-income people with free or subsidized medical care. More than 34 million people were on the Medicaid rolls in 1995. In 1995, some members of Congress proposed that the states administer their own Medicaid programs, free from federal regulations through a block grant (an annual lump sum of money).

Medicare, also instituted in 1965, pays health care benefits to more than 37 million older

WHO ARE THE HOMELESS?

Single men	46%
Families with children	36.5%
Single women	14%
Unaccompanied youth	3.5%
Children	25%
Severely mentally ill	23%
Substance abusers	46%
Employed	20%
Veterans	23%

Source: U.S. Conference of Mayors, *A Status Report on Hunger and Homelessness in America's Cities, 1995*

The White House

In August 1996, President Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996. The welfare reform bill was the result of many months of negotiations between the president and the Republican-controlled 104th Congress.

and disabled Americans. The government allotted more than $170 billion for Medicare payments in fiscal year 1995. While many lower-income older Americans benefit from Medicaid, all people of retirement age receive Medicare benefits.

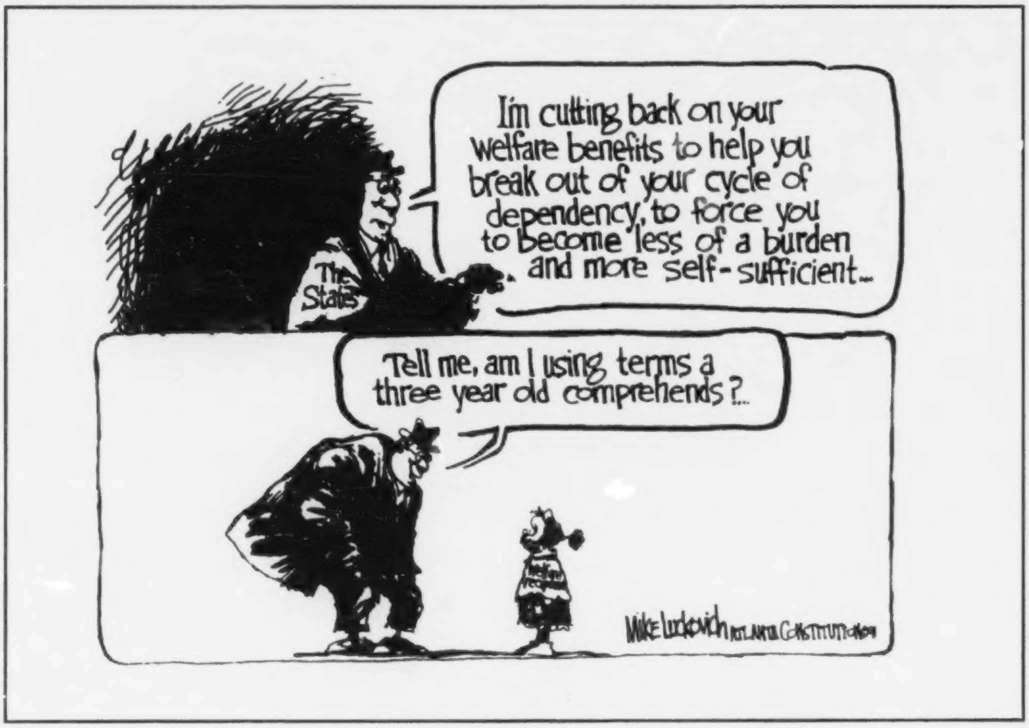
Back to the States. Since the mid-1960s, the federal government has spent trillions of dollars to erase poverty, and yet the percentage of Americans in poverty has remained at 10 percent or higher over the past three decades. Critics of federal social programs cite this as evidence that these programs have not worked. Others maintain that without their existence, poverty in America would be much worse. Still, since the 1980s, the effectiveness of the federal government in combating poverty has come under attack. As the budget deficit increased and homelessness got worse, many Americans called for a reevaluation of social programs.

No other program came in for more criticism than AFDC. AFDC was a more controversial program than, for example, food stamps or Medicaid, because it was a direct cash payment; recipients could spend the money on anything they wanted. Critics charged that AFDC inadvertently encouraged poor women to have more children and provided incentives for recipients to stay unemployed. They said it was time for bold experimentation, including taking welfare out of the hands of the federal government.

President Clinton came into office in 1993 promising to "end welfare as we know it." In August 1996, Congress passed, and the president signed, a historic welfare reform bill called the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act. The new law ends the sixty-one-year guarantee of cash assistance to poor families with children and gives states vast new authority to run their own welfare programs with grants from the federal government. Among the major provisions of the law are requirements that adults will be required to find work within two years and can receive benefits for a total of only five years during a lifetime. In addition, noncitizens will generally be ineligible for food stamps and other benefits.

CURRENT ISSUES

Welfare and the States. When President Clinton signed the 1996 welfare reform bill into law, more than


I'm cutting back on your welfare benefits to help you break out of your cycle of dependency, to force you to become less of a burden .. and more self-sufficient..
The States
Tell me, am I using terms a three year old comprehends?..
MIKE LUCKOVICH ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Mike Luckovich/Creators Syndicate

14 million Americans were receiving AFDC benefits. The new requirements were phased in beginning in October 1996 and were scheduled to be fully in place by July 1997. While few observers would argue the significance of the new law, they disagree about its potential effect on needy citizens.

Supporters of the welfare reform bill believe that the federal government allowed welfare to become a lifelong entitlement, rather than temporary assistance. They contend that programs such as AFDC created a culture of dependency by providing financial incentives for low-income Americans to stay unemployed. In addition, many Americans believe that the federal government was too inefficient and bureaucratic to properly administer a program like AFDC, and that state governments deserved at least the opportunity to control welfare. They contend that states, largely free from federal regulations and more in touch with their residents, can more effectively implement their own welfare programs.

POVERTY AND INFANT MORTALITY

In 1995, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that infant mortality rates were 60 percent higher for women living below the poverty line than for those above it. Although researchers have been aware of the link between infant mortality and poverty since the beginning of twentieth century, the correlation between infant mortality and poverty was stronger than scientists had expected.

On the other hand, many lawmakers and experts contend that the federal government should always guarantee some level of financial assistance to low-income Americans. Critics ask how state governments will provide welfare during recessions, when unemployment increases the demand for financial assistance. In addition, many doubt that states will successfully move welfare recipients into jobs without providing them with extensive job training, child care, and health insurance benefits. Unless these benefits are offered, former welfare recipients may conclude that they were better off on government assistance and quit their jobs. Critics believe that if the state then cuts off welfare, those who will suffer the most will be the children in low-income families—a consequence that is unacceptable to many American citizens and their elected officials.

Help for the Working Poor. In 1995, more than 20 million low-income Americans either worked in a low-paying job or

To combat urban poverty, the Clinton administration has implemented "empowerment zones" in some American cities. These zones offer tax breaks for businesses that open up in these areas and offer employment to local residents.

Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

were supported by a worker who did not earn enough money to raise them above the federal poverty level. Thus, the Clinton administration expanded the earned-income tax credit (EITC) to enhance the income of these families. Under the EITC, eligible workers receive a tax credit, or refund. This program cost the federal government $27 billion in tax revenue in 1996 and is now one of the largest federal antipoverty programs.

Many lawmakers support the EITC because they believe it helps support the family and rewards work. And unlike welfare, the EITC is available only to people who work. A parent with two children may qualify for an EITC totaling more than $2,500. Lawmakers say that the EITC, combined with the current minimum wage of about $5.00 per hour, increases the hourly wage to more than $6.00.

Opponents of the current EITC say that, although the plan is a good way to encourage work, it has weaknesses. Some members of Congress have proposed cuts to the EITC. They believe that the promise of such a tax credit causes some taxpayers to falsely report their earnings. Other Americans think that able-bodied adults without children should not be eligible for this program. In addition, some lawmakers question whether the credit actually eases the poverty burden and inspires American men and women to get off the welfare rolls and seek better-paying jobs. They wonder if it encourages workers to earn just enough to qualify for the tax credit, but no more.

Empowerment Zones. To encourage business owners to bring jobs to the country's most impoverished areas, some national leaders and business owners support the federal government's creation of empowerment zones. Empowerment zones are areas designed to improve the economy by giving communities millions of dollars in federal grants and tax breaks. They combine some new spending, tax breaks for businesses, and community-based partnerships. In 1995, President Clinton designated a number of urban and rural empowerment zones, including Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Philadelphia and Camden, New Jersey (which share a zone). By 1997, there were seventy-two urban sites designated as empowerment zones. Additional zones were established in rural areas of Mississippi, Kentucky, and Texas.

The plan eliminates the immediate high start-up costs of doing business by helping the business owner pay some taxes on income, payroll, unemployment, sales, and health care, thus making the business profitable as soon as possible. These new businesses need workers, so supporters of the plan say that the unemployment rate in these areas will decline and incomes will increase. The Clinton administration plans to spend $8.1 billion through 1999 to establish empowerment zones; $4.1 billion would come in the form of tax credits to businesses that hire workers from economically distressed areas.

Opponents of the empowerment zone plan say that the federal government should not allot so much money to a project that is doomed to fail. They argue that although people living in these areas need goods and services, they do not have the income to make new businesses profitable. If people do not financially support the businesses, the businesses will fail regardless of the tax incentives. Many who oppose this initiative believe that the money allotted for this program would be better spent on direct social programs like job training and child care.

OUTLOOK

The 1996 welfare reform law reflected a shift in many Americans' attitudes toward the needy. While many Americans want "smaller government," they also believe that government must promote personal responsibility and not "subsidize" unemployment and dependency. Others, however, believe that many people are scapegoating lower-income Americans and do not understand, or have never experienced, what it is like to be poor. As state governments begin implementing the welfare reform law, political leaders and citizens will be watching to see what the effect will be on the needy in their communities.

THE DEBATE: POVERTY

States Will Do a Better Job Controlling Welfare.

PRO: Federal welfare programs, particularly AFDC, have created a culture of dependency and entitlement that leads to a cycle of poverty. With the implementation of the 1996 welfare reform bill, state governments can now freely experiment and establish their own welfare policies that will work for their residents. Free from federal oversight, states can now spend the money as they like and help move welfare recipients into work.

CON: The welfare reform bill will prove to be a major disaster not only for states but also for the millions of Americans who rely on government assistance. State governments do not have the resources to provide welfare benefits to all their needy residents. Inevitably, they will look to Washington for help. The federal government learned during the Great Depression that it should always provide a safety net for all Americans.

The Government Should Reduce Financial Assistance To the Working Poor.

PRO: Although the earned-income tax credit may encourage work, it has its weaknesses. The promise of an EITC causes some taxpayers to falsely report their earnings to qualify for a higher credit. Some American men and women deliberately work long enough to obtain the maximum benefits, but no longer. It is questionable whether the credit actually inspires people to seek better-paying jobs instead of collecting welfare.

CON: The government should reward people who work to support families but do not earn enough income to rise above the poverty level. The EITC helps such people realize that working is more commendable than collecting welfare. Counting the financial benefits of the EITC, the average hourly wage would rise significantly. Expanding the EITC would enhance the income of these families and reward work rather than welfare.

The Government Should Expand Empowerment Zones In Impoverished Areas.

PRO: Empowerment zones have improved the economy in areas with high unemployment and poverty. Business incentives, such as the initial elimination of certain business taxes, would bring new jobs to these areas. Under this plan, new businesses would need workers, so the unemployment rate in these regions would go down. Empowerment zones ensure business success and stimulate local economies.

CON: The federal government should not fund empowerment zones because they are doomed to fail. People living in these urban and rural areas do not have enough money to make new businesses profitable. If people cannot support the businesses, the businesses will fail. Money allotted for empowerment zones would be better spent on other, more valuable, social programs, such as job training and child care.

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

The authors of the Constitution might be shocked to see the many Americans who have been granted civil rights protections. When the Constitution was written in 1787, only white male property owners were protected by it and given the right to vote. Gradually, rights were extended by law to nonlandowners, racial minorities, and women. In the 1960s and 1970s, federal lawmakers outlawed discrimination based on race and gender and passed laws to protect the rights of minorities and women. Soon, other groups, such as older Americans and people with disabilities, began to demand—and win—their rights.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should affirmative action be abolished?
- Should single-sex education in secondary schools be encouraged?
- Should same-sex marriages be allowed?

Although the United States has made great progress toward protecting its people from discrimination, some Americans favor stronger laws to guarantee that victims of discrimination are treated fairly by employers, businesses, and schools. However, others believe that civil rights laws—particularly affirmative action policies—have gone too far. They contend that certain government-granted rights and guarantees, designed to redress past wrongs against certain groups of people, may actually discriminate against other groups. Many lawmakers and citizens have called for these policies to be changed. For example, in 1996, California residents voted for a proposition banning all affirmative action programs in the state.

Forty years after the beginning of the civil rights movement, many Americans have different opinions over the meaning of "rights" and when policies to correct past injustices go too far. Others, however, believe that too many groups in the United States still face discrimination and that it would be a mistake to abandon protections that they believe have worked so well.

BACKGROUND

Discrimination in America

Racial Discrimination. After the Civil War, three constitutional amendments gave former slaves full rights of citizenship: the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment, which guaranteed civil rights; and the Fifteenth Amendment, which granted black males the right to vote. However, racial prejudice could not be easily legislated away. After postwar Reconstruction, southern leaders implemented "Jim Crow" laws, which segregated public facilities by race. These laws affected restaurants, theaters, schools, and even drinking fountains. In 1896, the Supreme Court upheld such laws in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* saying that segregation was legal as long as "separate but equal" facilities were provided.

In 1948, President Harry Truman proposed several reforms to address racial discrimination. He ordered the military to desegregate its units. Truman also proposed bills to protect all citizens' right to vote, to prohibit lynching, and to end discrimination on trains and other interstate transportation facilities. However,

REX
THEATRE
FOR COLORED PEOPLE

Library of Congress

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1868, guaranteed former slaves their civil rights. But the United States remained a nation legally divided by race for nearly 100 more years until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited the "Jim Crow" laws that segregated the races in the South.

powerful southern senators and representatives in Congress blocked most attempts at reform.

Civil Rights Reforms. The 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* sparked the modern civil rights movement. The Court unanimously ruled that maintaining separate schools for black and white students was unconstitutional because separate schools could not offer equal educational opportunities. Federal court judges later ordered many school districts to redraw boundary lines and bus children to schools outside their own neighborhoods, if necessary, to achieve racial integration in each district school.

Civil Rights Act of 1957. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the first attempt since Reconstruction to institute comprehensive civil rights legislation. This law made it illegal to prevent people from voting in federal elections. It also created the U.S. Civil Rights Commission—an independent government advisory panel—and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. However, the act had many loopholes and proved largely ineffective in securing the universal right to vote.

Twenty-fourth Amendment. In 1964, the Twenty-fourth Amendment was added to the Constitution. This amendment barred the use of a poll tax (a tax that was often used to prevent low-income African Americans from voting) or any other tax in federal elections. A 1966 Supreme Court ruling extended the amendment to state and local elections.

Civil Rights Act of 1964. The landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in public accommodations such as restaurants and hotels and in programs receiving federal aid. This far-reaching legislation also prohibited job discrimination by employers and unions, established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and strengthened enforcement of voting and desegregation laws.

"MINORITIES" BECOME THE MAJORITY

In 1995, for the first time in U.S. history, the number of births to Hispanics surpassed the number of births to African Americans. Although the overall number of births in the United States is projected to decline slowly until 2000, the proportion of births to Asian and Hispanic women is projected to increase steadily. According to the Census Bureau, by 2030, minorities will make up the majority of U.S. births, and Hispanics will surpass African Americans to become the nation's largest minority group.

Affirmative Action. In the early 1960s, President John Kennedy issued a series of executive orders requiring federal contractors to "take affirmative action" to ensure that their hiring practices did not discriminate on the basis of race or gender. His successors, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, expanded these programs in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The goal of affirmative action is to match the racial and gender composition of the workplace and higher education with that of society as a whole. The policies require governments and government contractors to take an active role to help some minority groups overcome past discrimination, by considering race or gender as a factor when hiring or awarding contracts. Many businesses, universities, and colleges have voluntarily adopted affirmative action programs.

However, because affirmative action can lead to racial quotas, many Americans have charged that it promotes reverse discrimination, mostly against whites. In 1996, California voters approved a sweeping initiative—called Proposition 209—that barred the state from discriminating against, or granting "preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting." Although opponents argued that Proposition 209 was unconstitutional, a three-judge panel in California upheld the measure in April 1997.

Voting Rights Act. Passed in 1965, the Voting Rights Act was aimed at eliminating local laws and practices that were still preventing African Americans and other minorities from voting. The act forbids literacy tests, poll taxes, and intimidation of voters in any state. In communities with a history of discrimination, federal officials are required to make sure that proper voter registration and election procedures are followed. These communities must clear with federal officials any proposed changes in election laws and prove that such changes will not discriminate against minorities.

Protection from Discrimination in Housing. In 1968, Congress extended civil rights protection to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of some 80 percent of the nation's housing. (Housing not covered includes property sold without the help of a real estate agent.) The legislation also prohibits discriminatory references in real estate advertisements. However, many experts say that this law is difficult to enforce, and that people continue to live in certain areas because of their race and income.

New Criteria for Admissions

The University of California, the largest state university system in the country, has changed its criteria for admissions. Beginning in 1996, the university is placing greater emphasis on social and economic disadvantage, not race and gender, in hiring and admissions. Under new guidelines issued to the university's nine campuses, 50 percent of the applicants will be admitted solely on academic achievement, but up to half will then be evaluated on what they call "special circumstances," such as a disadvantaged background.

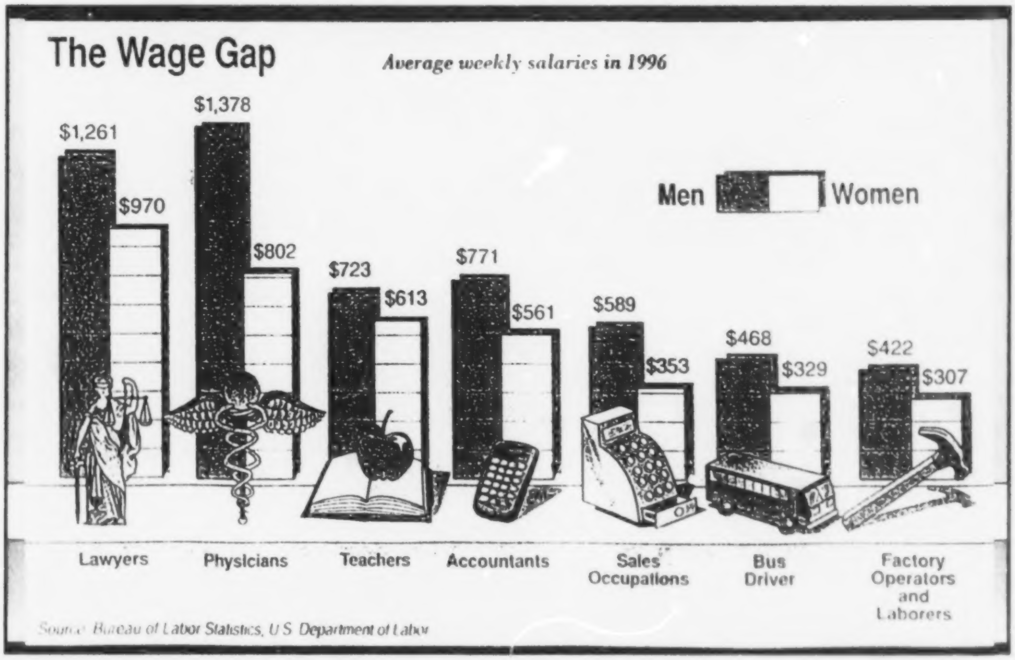
Later Civil Rights Legislation. In 1988, Congress passed the Civil Rights Restoration Act, which prevents institutions that receive government money from discriminating on the basis of gender, race, age, or disability. The Supreme Court had interpreted earlier legislation to prohibit schools, governments, private organizations, and corporations from discriminating only in programs for which they received federal funds. But the 1988 act restored civil rights protections to all programs run by such institutions, even if only one project receives federal aid. In 1991, President George Bush signed a new civil rights law, expanding workers' rights in discrimination disputes.

Discrimination Against Women. In the 1960s and early 1970s, women began mobilizing support against gender discrimination. Inspired by the civil rights movement, women sought greater access to jobs, more political influence, and a greater recognition of their equality and competence. Yet today's women's movement has roots that stretch back more than 140 years.

Suffrage Movement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony led the suffrage movement to get the vote for women. Suffragists tried to include women in the Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, which guaranteed the right to vote to all men regardless of race. However, that idea was blocked by members of Congress who feared that a provision giving women the vote would keep the entire amendment from passing.

Despite this setback, the suffrage movement continued, and by 1912 women had won the right to vote in nine western states. In 1916, the National Woman's Party organized support for a national suffrage amendment, and on August 16, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, extending to women the right to vote in all state and national elections.

Laws Against Gender Discrimination. The women's rights movement made great progress in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1963, Congress adopted the Equal Pay Act, which guaranteed equal pay for men and women who perform equal work. In the early 1970s, the Supreme Court applied the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to strike down laws that discriminated against women. A 1972 law bars gender-based discrimination in all education programs receiving federal support. And in 1978, Congress amended the Civil Rights Act to prohibit job discrimination against pregnant women. Despite progress in achieving equal rights, many Americans believed that only a constitutional amendment could correct gender discrimination for good.



The Wage Gap

Average weekly salaries in 1996

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor

The graph above compares average weekly earnings of men and women in selected full-time occupations. Women sometimes earn as little as 60 percent of what men earn in one week.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). In 1971, Congress passed a proposed amendment to the Constitution that supporters thought would guarantee equal rights for women. The Equal Rights Amendment stated: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." The controversial amendment was never added to the Constitution, falling a few states short of the three-fourths necessary for ratification.

Discrimination in Higher Education. In 1996, the Supreme Court ruled that the Virginia Military Institute's (VMI) policy of denying women access to this public, tax-supported institution was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees "equal protection of the laws" for people, regardless of their sex. VMI decided to begin enrolling women to continue receiving state and federal funding. Other similar institutions, such as The Citadel in South Carolina, have also opened their doors to women.

National Archives

Women's rights activist Betty Friedan was the first president of the National Organization for Women and a prominent advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Discrimination Against People with Disabilities. In the past, men and women with disabilities have had to fight both social and physical barriers to achieve relative equality. Visually or hearing-impaired people and those with physical disabilities were often segregated in special schools and denied college educations. Without adequate education, disabled men and women often had to settle for low-paying jobs that required few skills. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 outlawed some barriers to equal education, and created job opportunities for disabled people. The law prohibited employers who receive federal aid or who work on government contracts from refusing to hire people with disabilities. The act also required that colleges make buildings accessible to people who are blind or in wheelchairs. In addition, Congress extended protection against discrimination in housing to disabled Americans in 1988.

In 1990, Congress passed the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), the most extensive civil rights

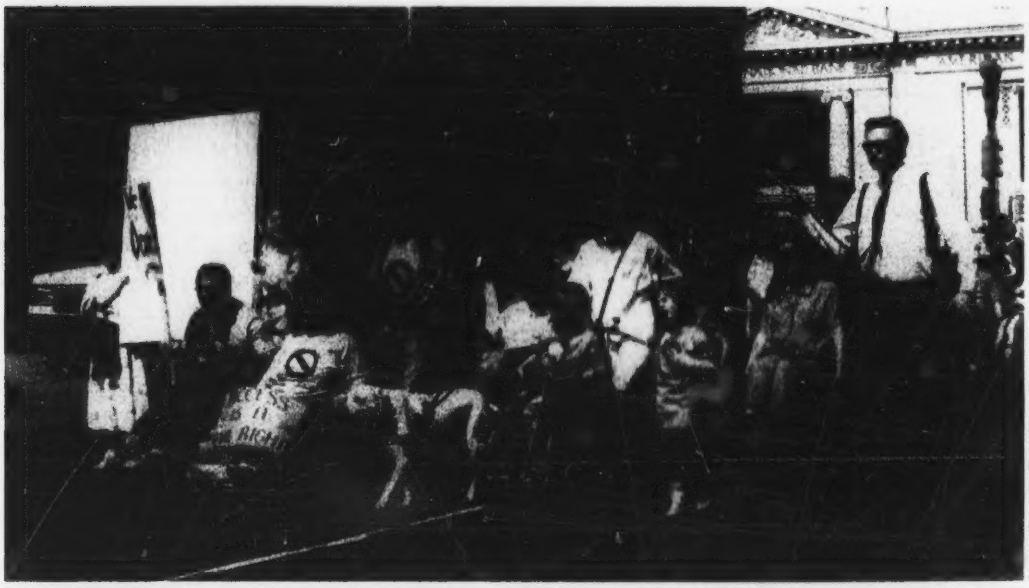
AP Photo/Roanoke Times/Cindy Pinkston

In 1996, the Supreme Court ruled that the all-male admissions policy of the Virginia Military Institute violated the Constitution. VMI chose to open its doors to female students rather than lose its public funding.

legislation since the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This law protects people with physical and mental disabilities by prohibiting discrimination in employment, transportation, telecommunications, services, and public places such as restaurants, theaters, and stores. To comply, some companies and institutions had to make major changes to provide wider doors, convenient parking, hearing aids, braille information, and communication services for people with disabilities.

Discrimination Against Homosexuals. In recent years, homosexual men and women have asked the government to protect them from discrimination, and have begun to demand equal rights. Homosexual couples are not allowed to legally marry in most states, and therefore are denied rights that are generally granted to married persons. For example, married people can be covered under their spouse's health plans, file joint tax returns, and make important medical decisions for their spouses. When people die, their spouses are entitled to inherit the other's property, make funeral arrangements, and take bereavement leave.

Most communities deny similar rights to homosexual partners. However, several local governments have granted some rights to homosexual couples, and a few localities have allowed such couples to legally register as "domestic partners." Domestic partner laws



Close Up Foundation/Renée Bouchard

In the past twenty years, the denial of rights to physically and mentally disabled persons has become a major issue. People with disabilities demanded equal treatment, and now federal laws provide Americans with disabilities equal access to jobs, education, public buildings, and mass transportation.

do not grant homosexual couples all the rights of married couples, but some communities, such as San Francisco, do allow domestic partners who work for the city government to enroll their partners for health care benefits. Although federal law does not extend civil rights protections based on sexual orientation, several cities, counties, and states have passed some types of bans on discriminating against homosexuals. Conversely, other states and communities, including Colorado, thought protections were going too far, and banned homosexual antidiscrimination legislation. However, in 1996, the Supreme Court struck down the Colorado law, saying it was unconstitutional.

CURRENT ISSUES

Affirmative Action. Many governments, federal contractors, businesses, and universities have encouraged the hiring and recruitment of racial minorities and women in school and the workplace through affirmative action programs. However, in recent years, these policies have been challenged on many fronts across America.

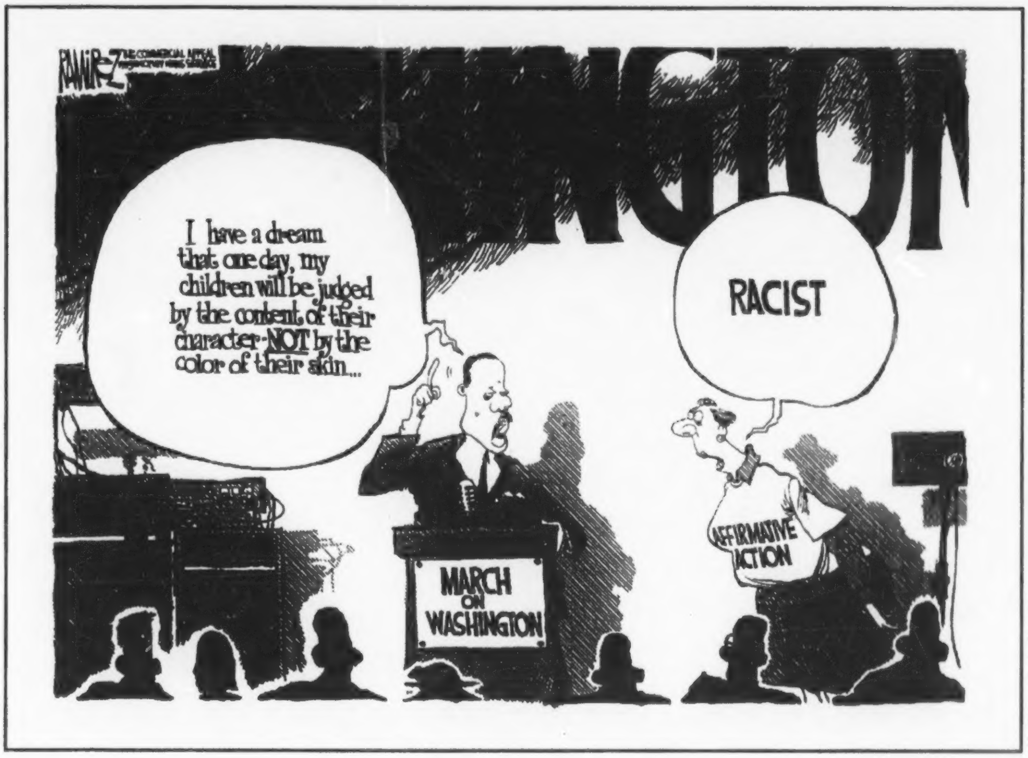
Members of Congress introduced bills that would end affirmative action. Also, the Supreme Court ruled that affirmative action programs must address specific, identifiable past acts of discrimination as opposed to a general presumption of discrimination. The success of Proposition 209 in California may lead to similar measures barring affirmative action in other states.

However, supporters of racial and gender preference policies maintain that these policies have been an effective tool for correcting bias in hiring, college enrollment, and government contracting. Proponents think that affirmative action is still needed because the economic status of minorities, relative to white workers, has declined. Unemployment rates continue to be higher among black and Hispanic workers. Women and minority workers still earn significantly less than white men in the same occupation. Supporters argue that while affirmative action is not always a perfectly fair means of creating new opportunities for women and minorities, no better means of achieving that end have yet been proposed.

On the other hand, many Americans argue that affirmative action forces employers, universities, and governments to fill racial and gender quotas, which can lead to race and gender being placed above all other qualifications or merits. Opponents say that many

JOB RIGHTS VS. JOB SAFETY

Some business leaders and lawmakers are concerned that the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act, while extending job opportunities to the disabled, may lead to a riskier workplace for coworkers and the public. For example, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has filed a class-action ADA lawsuit against a major parcel shipping company to force it to hire truck drivers with impaired vision. Another trucking business was sued after removing a driver who was an epileptic. Critics applaud the ADA in general, but fear that its advocates are overreaching and clogging up the courtroom with nonsensical lawsuits. Others say that increased risks in the workplace are a price of creating a fairer workplace for the disabled.


RAMIREZ
WASHINGTON
I have a dream that one day, my children will be judged by the content of their character-NOT by the color of their skin...
RACIST
MARCH ON WASHINGTON
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Mike Ramirez/Copley News Service

institutions have begun to favor minorities even if there is no evidence of prior discrimination against a particular group. They also contend that affirmative action implies that minorities and women cannot compete on a level playing field with other Americans, thereby undermining the self-esteem and the successes of hard-working minorities and women. Critics argue that affirmative action now does more harm than good, and that the time has come to honor individual merit over group rights.

Single-Sex Education. Although the Supreme Court ruled that the Virginia Military Institute was in violation of the Constitution by not admitting women, there are elementary and secondary public schools in the United States that admit only females. Currently, there are a total of three public schools, in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City, that have all-girl student populations. These schools—one of which has been in existence since the 1840s, when single-sex education was the norm—have so far avoided any major legal challenge.

Advocates of single-sex education for females say that their goal is not to exclude males, but simply to provide the best learning environment for young girls. They argue that girls do not receive as much attention as boys in a coed classroom. According to some, girls are generally quieter, and therefore are often ignored by teachers. Proponents of single-sex schools believe that the self-esteem of girls suffers from this lack of attention in the classroom, particularly around their early teenage years. All-girl schools concentrate on building girls' self-confidence and teaching them leadership skills.

However, opponents maintain that, not only are these public schools unconstitutional, but they also fail in their goal of providing a constructive environment for their pupils. Supporters of coeducation argue that traditional public school teachers have become more aware of different students' needs in the classroom and encourage both boys and girls to succeed, therefore making these all-girl schools obsolete. In addition, some believe that children need to learn how to make friends and work with members of the opposite sex at an early age, and the classroom can provide an ideal setting.

Same-Sex Marriages. Although some homosexual couples are registered as domestic partners, they lack many of the legal benefits that heterosexual married people enjoy. Therefore, many of these couples have been campaigning for the legalization of same-sex marriages. The efforts got a big boost recently when Hawaii ruled that the state would not prohibit same-sex marriage. However, Congress, anticipating such a ruling, passed the Defense of Marriage Act, which defines marriage as a legal union between one man and one woman and declares that states do not have to recognize same-sex unions legalized in other states, including Hawaii.

Supporters of same-sex marriage believe that denying homosexual couples the right to marry is discriminatory. Legalizing same-sex marriage would allow homosexual partners to take advantage of tax benefits and obtain joint health care coverage—financial privileges that heterosexuals have. Gay rights advocates also think that allowing same-sex marriages would help children growing up in these nontraditional families feel more normal and socially accepted. Proponents dispute any notion that these unions would be detrimental to American society, and argue that the government should have no jurisdiction to make laws prohibiting marriage—a very personal act that demonstrates love and commitment—between two adults.

On the other hand, opponents of same-sex marriage believe that redefining marriage to include homosexual partners would further damage the institution of marriage. They think that due to the high divorce rate, the institution—which honors fidelity and lifelong commitment—has been weakened in American society. These critics maintain that marriage should be legally defined as a union between a man and a woman, and point out that Judeo-Christian tradition defines marriage as a male-female union to ensure the creation of children. Others believe that homosexuality is morally wrong and that legalizing gay marriages is tantamount to the government condoning and subsidizing this lifestyle.

OUTLOOK

Despite the progress achieved in extending civil rights to all Americans over the past thirty years, some citizens believe that discrimination is still a major problem. They say that the federal government has not done enough to eliminate discrimination against minorities, women, homosexuals, and people with disabilities. However, others argue that government actions to make up for past discrimination have gone too far and actually discriminate against other groups, particularly white males. Lawmakers and the public must decide how much they are willing to scale back these policies without giving free rein to discrimination in companies and universities across America.

THE DEBATE: WOMEN AND MINORITIES

Affirmative Action Should Be Abolished.

PRO: Affirmative action is just another term for quotas. Quotas were once used to prevent qualified minorities from finding jobs. Using quotas to help minorities and women is no less discriminatory. Employers and universities should look for the most qualified candidates, regardless of race or gender. Affirmative action encourages people to place color and gender above all else.

CON: Discrimination against women and minorities still exists in the United States today. Affirmative action helps prevent this, and also compensates for past injustices. These programs ensure that qualified workers do not lose out because of their gender or race. Eliminating affirmative action would give employers an excuse to return to the discriminatory practices of the past.

Single-Sex Education in Secondary Schools Should Be Encouraged.

PRO: In many situations, single-sex education can be constructive for young students, particularly young women. Coed schools do not always provide effective and fair learning environments for all students. Studies indicate that many girls' self-esteem suffers as a result. In certain all-girl schools, girls are learning better leadership skills and becoming better students in all subjects. The government should continue to support these schools.

CON: Any school that admits only one gender and receives federal funding is violating the Constitution. In addition, all-girl schools do not provide an environment that includes interaction with members of the opposite sex, which is crucial to learning valuable social skills. Most public schools have lately become more sensitive to the needs of all their students, making single-sex schools unnecessary.

Same-Sex Marriages Should Be Allowed.

PRO: Denying homosexual couples the right to marry is discriminatory. They should be entitled to the same benefits that heterosexual couples enjoy. No compelling evidence exists that these unions are damaging to families or children. The government has no place mandating who in American society can and cannot marry; if anything, it should be encouraging more marriages.

CON: Homosexuality is morally wrong, and the government should not condone it by legalizing gay marriages. Marriage should be legally defined as a union between a man and a woman. The institution of marriage in America has already been weakened enough by high divorce rates; allowing homosexual couples the legal right to marry would only weaken it further.

Foreign Policy Issu

Introduction 176

Chapter 14: Defense 178

Chapter 15: Democracy and Human Rights . . 192

Chapter 16: International Trade 208

Chapter 17: Weapons Proliferation 222

Chapter 18: World Poverty and Foreign Aid . . 234

Chapter 19: East Asia 246

Chapter 20: Europe 262

Chapter 21: Latin America 278

Chapter 22: The Middle East 296

Chapter 23: Russia 314

INTRODUCTION

The world has witnessed historic changes during the 1990s. Early in the decade, the Cold War ended, the Soviet Union broke apart, and communism virtually disappeared from Europe. Improved communication and increased trade among nations continued to add to international interdependence. Democracy spread around the world to nations as far apart as South Africa, Russia, and Haiti.

In the mid-1990s, leaders in the Middle East made great strides in bringing peace to that war-torn region. U.S. armed forces found themselves in a new role, patrolling Haiti and Bosnia as peacekeeping forces. Many world leaders believe the post–Cold War world has become more peaceful and that many nations have begun shifting their foreign policy focus away from potential conflicts with one another and toward greater cooperation.

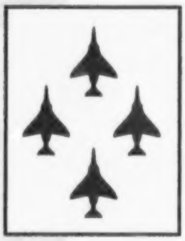
Until the late 1800s, the United States was largely uninvolved in world affairs. Its economic and military power grew in the twentieth century, as did its ability to influence other nations. After the end of World War II in 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union, the world's two dominant powers, became locked in a Cold War that would last until the early 1990s and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Since then, U.S. leaders have worked to define a new role for the United States on the international scene.

Just as U.S. leaders identify the nation's foreign policy goals, they also must determine the best way to achieve those objectives and deal with both ongoing situations and changing circumstances. Some methods are public, while others take place behind the scenes. One way U.S. leaders work with other countries is through diplomacy—meetings between government leaders or their representatives. Diplomacy also includes friendly persuasion, pressure, and advice used to influence other governments.

For example, American officials can use trade policies as a means to implement foreign policy. Another method is through economic or military aid programs. Policymakers may also try to sway the citizens of other countries through newspapers, books, and radio and television broadcasts, or they may arrange scientific and cultural exchanges to help promote goodwill toward the United States. Nations also belong to international organizations, such as the United Nations, where they debate global concerns. Finally, the U.S. government can use military force to protect its interests and those of friendly nations.

In the United States, both the executive and legislative branches are responsible for foreign policy. The president generally sets the agenda for foreign policy decisions by appointing ambassadors, negotiating treaties, and serving as commander in chief of the armed forces. The Department of State carries out the president's foreign policy. State Department officials represent the United States in international negotiations, staff American embassies around the world, promote cultural exchanges between U.S. and foreign citizens, and protect American citizens and investments abroad. Congress has the power to approve presidential nominations for ambassadorships and top State Department positions, declare war, ratify treaties, provide money for foreign aid and military programs, and pass laws or resolutions stating a specific foreign policy.

The administration and Congress do not always agree on foreign policy. Some policymakers think that the government is too involved in foreign affairs and should concentrate more on domestic problems. Others believe that the world's nations are becoming more interdependent and that the United States needs to be even more involved with other countries. The challenge is to strike a balance between working to solve the world's problems and dealing with issues at home.



DEFENSE

The U.S. military underwent dramatic changes in the 1990s as it adjusted to new budgetary constraints and a lessening of tensions worldwide. Nevertheless, U.S. armed forces remained active around the world, often in nontraditional humanitarian and peacekeeping roles.

Military interventions in Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, and Bosnia prompted many Americans to question whether their country's armed forces should be involved in the expensive, often dangerous businesses of peacekeeping and humanitarian aid. Most Americans, like their policymakers, are struggling to define which allies and conflicts are most important to U.S. interests in the post–Cold War world.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the U.S. defense budget be increased?
- Should the U.S. military participate in peacekeeping missions?
- Should the United States develop a missile defense system?

During the Cold War, the United States developed nuclear and conventional weapons and built up the armed forces to defend against the Soviet Union and its allies. President Ronald Reagan increased U.S. defense spending in the 1980s to an all-time high. However, after the breakup of the Soviet Union, President George Bush and his successor, Bill Clinton, began to cut the defense budget. Although many agree that cuts were necessary, some Americans argue that the Clinton administration's reductions in military spending have been too deep. They point out that those spending levels have not enabled the military to develop new weapons systems. Consequently, some analysts advocate the creation of more high-tech weapons, such as a missile defense system. These are some of the many issues U.S. policymakers have to address as they define America's place in a world without another superpower like the Soviet Union.

BACKGROUND

U.S. Defense Policy

What Type of Military Does the United States Need? Currently, about 1.4 million men and women serve in the U.S. Air Force, Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. These troops, with their weapons and equipment, support the nation's military goals. For many years, those goals have been to defend the United States, prevent nuclear war, provide forces in support of U.S. foreign policy, protect western Europe from attack, and ensure freedom of the seas. In 1995, the Pentagon added a new strategy—"peace engagement"—to support its increasing number of global peacekeeping operations.

The United States spends billions of dollars each year maintaining a strong defense to deter other nations from mounting an attack. Political and military leaders want potential enemies to know that if the United States is attacked, it will repel the invasion and defeat the attacking country. The United States also uses its armed forces to demonstrate its power and to help maintain stable and friendly governments around the world.

In the past, U.S. forces were trained to defend against one main enemy—the Soviet Union. Leaders

U.S. Department of the Army

Women make up roughly 13 percent of American troops today, compared with 2 percent twenty years ago.

in the Soviet Union and the United States believed that the interests of their nations were in direct conflict. For forty-five years, the two superpowers competed for military dominance, influence, and power, fueling a Cold War that shaped worldwide defense strategies and relations.

Now that the Soviet Union has dissolved and the Cold War is over, the former Soviet republics and allies are beginning to look and act more like their Western counterparts. Their governments allow more freedom, permit opposition political parties, hold democratic elections, and work to establish market economies.

Because the threat of a major superpower conflict has lessened, the U.S. military has redefined its mission somewhat by de-emphasizing the protection of Europe and focusing instead on defending other U.S. interests and allies around the globe. These changing priorities have required a different military strategy. Over the last few years, defense planners have restructured the armed forces so that, if necessary, they can fight two regional wars at once, though the value of this strategy and the required spending are matters of debate.

Preventing Nuclear War. After the United States dropped its first atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the Soviet Union rushed to develop a similar weapon, conducting its first atomic test in 1949. The United States and the Soviet Union competed for nuclear superiority during the Cold War.

Because of the immense destructive power of nuclear weapons, the United States and the Soviet Union wanted to avoid nuclear conflicts. Therefore, they pursued a strategy called nuclear deterrence. Each nation reasoned that it must keep its nuclear forces roughly equal to the other's to avoid an attack. Thus, the two giants matched one another's improvements in nuclear weapons—including the number and power of such arms as well as their delivery systems. The result of the nuclear deterrence strategy was the production of tens of thousands of nuclear devices in both the

176A

The Pentagon, near Washington, D.C., serves as headquarters for the U.S. Department of Defense. From here, plans are made to carry out the main duties of the nation's armed forces.

Official U.S. Air Force Photo

Soviet Union and the United States. In the 1970s and 1980s, the two superpowers made agreements to reduce their nuclear arsenals. Although the United States and Russia signed more arms control agreements after the end of the Cold War, each country still had between 6,000 and 8,000 nuclear devices in 1996.

Defending Allies. After World War II, the United States helped create the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance that includes Canada, most western European countries, Greece, and Turkey. During the Cold War, NATO defended western Europe against communist aggression. At the height of the Cold War, the United States had more than 300,000 troops stationed in NATO countries in Europe. By 1996, that number had shrunk to 100,000.

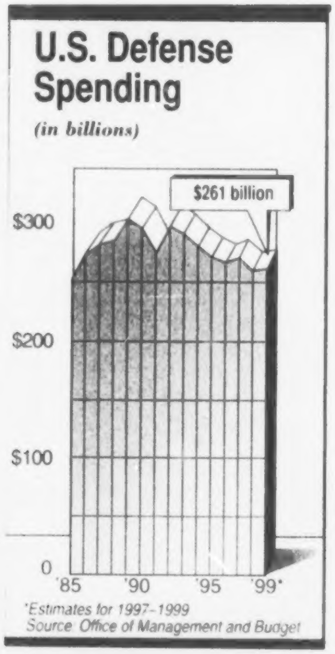
After the collapse of the Soviet-led military alliance known as the Warsaw Pact, many eastern European countries and former Soviet republics wanted to join NATO. The United States and other NATO members offered more than twenty of these countries a "partnership" with NATO in 1993. In 1997, the Clinton administration favored expanding NATO to include some eastern European countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. However, Russia opposed this idea.

Along with protecting NATO members, the United States is also committed by treaty to defend other allies around the world, including Japan, South Korea, and many Latin American countries. A total of 80,000 U.S. troops are still stationed in Japan and South Korea.

Use of Force. During the Cold War, the United States wanted to "contain" or limit communist influence and expansion. Consequently, U.S. leaders often used military force to support pro-American governments fighting communist-backed invasions or insurrections. In 1950, when communist North Korea invaded noncommunist South Korea, the United States entered the war as the main part of a United Nations "police force" sent to defend the South Koreans. In 1954, when it appeared that communist guerrillas and the army of North Vietnam would take over South Vietnam, the United States began what proved to be a twenty-one-year involvement with immense human and monetary costs. Perceptions of a communist threat also led to U.S. military interventions in Guatemala (1954), Lebanon (1958), Cuba (1961), the Dominican Republic (1965), and Grenada (1983).

The United States became more reluctant to intervene in foreign conflicts after the Vietnam War. However, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, U.S. officials renewed their commitment to building a strong military that could protect American interests around the world.

In the fall of 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait. In a conflict known as the Persian Gulf War, the United States and its allies formed a multilateral (many-sided) armed force of nearly 500,000 troops to force the Iraqi military to withdraw. In February 1991, after six weeks of bombing raids, U.S. forces and their allies met Iraqi invaders on the ground in Kuwait. Within 100 hours, Iraq's forces fled Kuwait, and President George Bush ordered a cease-fire.



*Estimates for 1997–1999
Source: Office of Management and Budget

In the 1980s, the U.S. defense budget increased rapidly. However, by 1996, defense spending had decreased to about $260 billion.

Defense Buildup. The defense policies of the Cold War—nuclear deterrence, protecting allies, and containing communism—required a large military budget. Defense spending reached its peak during Ronald Reagan's presidency, increasing from $180 billion in 1980 to $299 billion in 1988. The U.S. Department of Defense used this money to purchase 90 new warships; 4,000 tanks; and hundreds of modern warplanes. The Pentagon also developed new high-technology weapons such as the MX, Midgetman, and Trident D-5 missiles and the B-1 and B-2 (Stealth) bombers. Reagan also proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)—commonly known as the "Star Wars" program. A space-based defense system, SDI would guard the United States from attack by long-range missiles. Such a system would track incoming missiles and send rockets to destroy them before they reached their targets.

A Smaller Defense. With successful multilateral action in the Persian Gulf War and the fall of communism across Europe, the U.S. military searched for a new focus in the early 1990s. Finding a new defense strategy has been a subject of heated debate not just within the Pentagon, but also between Congress and the president.

In 1993, defense planners assessed the nation's security needs. They defined the manpower, hardware, and budget needed to fight two major regional wars and a third, smaller conflict, all at the same time. They then tried to reorganize the U.S. military accordingly. However, this process was complicated by the need to reduce the federal budget deficit. In 1993 and 1994, President Clinton reduced the defense budget. His plans emphasized readiness rather than developing new high-tech weapons systems.

But the reductions in defense spending began to take their toll. In late 1994, then–Secretary of Defense William Perry announced that the ability of the U.S. military to respond to a large-scale war was in doubt. President Clinton promised the Department of Defense additional funding to improve military readiness. However, some Republican lawmakers said the additional

U.S. TROOPS IN PANAMA

When the United States and Panama negotiated treaties in the 1970s to transfer control of the Panama Canal, they agreed to a withdrawal of U.S. forces by 1999. However, by 1996, leaders in both countries said they wanted to keep U.S. troops there longer. The U.S. military uses bases in Panama to launch antidrug operations and to train U.S. troops in jungle warfare.

money was still not enough. They said that high-tech weapons were essential to maintain a strong U.S. military.

In 1995 and 1996, some members of Congress proposed increasing the defense budget to develop a national missile defense system by 2003. The concept is similar to, though less complex than, the SDI system that was proposed in the 1980s. In 1996, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the basic system would cost $10 billion, and later plans could cost up to $60 billion.

The War Powers Act. Many senators and representatives also criticize the use of U.S. troops in humanitarian and peacekeeping missions. This issue raises questions about who has the power to send troops into combat—the president or Congress.

The Constitution names the president commander in chief of the military, but gives Congress the sole power to declare war. Since the end of World War II, presidents have often sent U.S. military forces to other countries without Congress declaring war.

In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Congress passed the War Powers Act of 1973—over the veto of President Richard Nixon. Nixon and subsequent presidents believed that the resolution was unconstitutional and a dangerous limitation of presidential power. This law gave Congress more control over the president's use of troops. It requires the president to advise Congress before sending troops to a potential combat zone, places a time limit on the use of troops without approval from Congress or a declaration of war, and gives Congress the power to order the president to bring the troops home.

The War Powers Act and new kinds of military operations have limited the president's power on some foreign policy issues. For example, in November 1995, President Bill Clinton decided to send 20,000 U.S. troops to the former Yugoslavian republic Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of a NATO force of 60,000 to enforce a peace agreementending Bosnia's civil war. Many members of Congress argued that the United States had no national

THE CYBERWAR THREAT

In 1996, American officials became increasingly worried about the threat of "information warfare," or attacks on the nation's computers and data networks. In theory, enemies or terrorists could send electronic commands to assault U.S. telephone systems, power networks, banking and transportation systems, as well as computers overseen by the Department of Defense. In 1996, the Government Accounting Office reported that more than 120 nations are developing information warfare techniques. The Pentagon estimated there were as many as 250,000 attacks on their computer systems in 1995.

interest in Bosnia and that American lives should not be risked to uphold its fragile peace plan. However, President Clinton indicated he was going to send troops there with or without congressional approval. Stating that they supported the American troops, both houses of Congress reluctantly approved the measure to send U.S. armed forces to Bosnia.

CURRENT ISSUES

Increasing the Defense Budget. After reductions in the early 1990s, the defense budget currently stands at about $260 billion per year. The Clinton administration reasoned that, while reducing the budget, they could reorganize the military so that it would be leaner, but better prepared and equipped. Total U.S. military personnel has decreased from 2.3 million to about 1.4 million today. However, after unexpected outlays in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions, many defense analysts contend that, although the military is leaner, it cannot afford to maintain all its equipment or fully train its personnel. Thus, many lawmakers contend that current spending levels must be increased.

Supporters of a larger defense budget say U.S. troops now suffer from low morale, which undermines the effectiveness of U.S. forces. Moreover, they argue that the development of new weapons has suffered in the age of budget cutting. Supporters think that many of the Reagan-era weapons will soon wear out or become obsolete. Therefore, they contend that the Department of Defense needs a larger budget to develop and purchase new high-technology weapons, planes, ships, and other equipment. Advocates of increasing defense spending point out that budget cutting tells members of the U.S. armed services that their safety, success, and security are not priorities.

However, critics of a bigger defense budget counter that the military, like all other government programs, must reduce spending to help reduce the federal budget deficit. They argue that money spent on defense would be better used on domestic programs such as housing, education, and crime prevention. Those who oppose increasing defense spending also contend that by investing heavily in the development and construction of tanks, ships, and other weapons, American industries have lagged behind other countries in industrial technology and the manufacture of consumer products. With fewer resources committed to defense, they say, U.S. companies could become more competitive in the global market and the economy would grow stronger.

The Changing Mission of the U.S. Military. As the former Soviet republics implement democratic and economic reforms, the military threat from that region has been greatly reduced, if not eliminated. Consequently, some argue that the United States now needs to restructure its armed forces. They say that smaller, regional battles will require equipment and training that are different from the defense systems developed to deter the Soviet Union. These officials want the Department of Defense to budget more money for combating illegal drug traffic, fighting terrorism, preparing soldiers for military conflicts in the developing world, and enforcing international law and peace.

Somalia. In December 1992, U.S. armed forces undertook an operation that provoked fierce debate over the role of the U.S. military. More than 25,000 troops were sent to Somalia to ensure delivery of emergency food supplies to ease starvation brought on by

WELCOME TO BOSNIA
COURTESY
COMMANDER TASK FORCE EAGLE
OVER THE SAVA
SIRI

Reuters/Petr Josek/Archive Photos

In December 1995, President Clinton ordered 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia. Their mission, as part of a 60,000-strong NATO force, was to enforce a peace treaty ending Bosnia's civil war. About 8,500 U.S. soldiers will remain in Bosnia until June 1998.

civil war. After most U.S. troops had returned home in early 1993, a few thousand remained as part of a United Nations (UN) peacekeeping force. In October 1993, while under UN command, eighteen Americans died in a clash with a Somali militia. That incident led many Americans to question placing U.S. forces under UN command. President Clinton withdrew all American troops from Somalia in early 1994.

Haiti. In 1991, a military coup resulted in the overthrow of Haiti's democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. In September 1994, 20,000 U.S. troops arrived in Haiti to maintain peace while the U.S. government helped organize Aristide's return to power. The military leaders stepped down in October, and Aristide returned to Haiti two weeks later. About 2,500 U.S. troops remained in Haiti until February 1996.

Bosnia. Doubts about peacekeeping missions were again raised in late 1995, when President Clinton ordered 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia to help NATO uphold a peace treaty ending Bosnia's four-year civil war. In

November 1996, the president pledged to keep 8,500 U.S. troops in Bosnia as part of a 30,000-strong NATO force through June 1998. Many Americans believed that the war in Bosnia was not vital to U.S. interests and did not justify risking American lives.

PEACEKEEPING IN SOUTH AMERICA

In 1996, five dozen U.S. troops went to the border of Ecuador and Peru to help maintain the peace while the two countries settled a border dispute that nearly broke out into war. Under a 1942 treaty, the United States, Brazil, Chile, and Argentina were bound to help.

While some Americans thought the missions in Somalia and Haiti were successful, others criticized the violence and the unclear military objectives of peacekeeping. Moreover, critics estimate that operations in Somalia, Rwanda, and Haiti cost the U.S. military more than $3 billion. To fund these missions, they say that the Pentagon has taken money away from training, maintenance, and new weapons spending. Therefore, they argue that if the U.S. military continues to respond to peacekeeping and humanitarian crises, its long-range readiness and technological superiority will be jeopardized. Moreover, critics say that many regional crises are not crucial to U.S. interests and that they are not worth risking American lives.

However, other policymakers believe that multinational peacekeeping will be a valuable tool in containing or stopping future regional conflicts before they become larger. They argue that peacekeeping missions may be a compromise between multilateral invasions and complete inaction. Supporters of peacekeeping missions suggest that new procedures for funding these missions can be established. Moreover, they say that solving humanitarian and political crises is always in the U.S. national interest, as the United States is invariably affected by such problems.

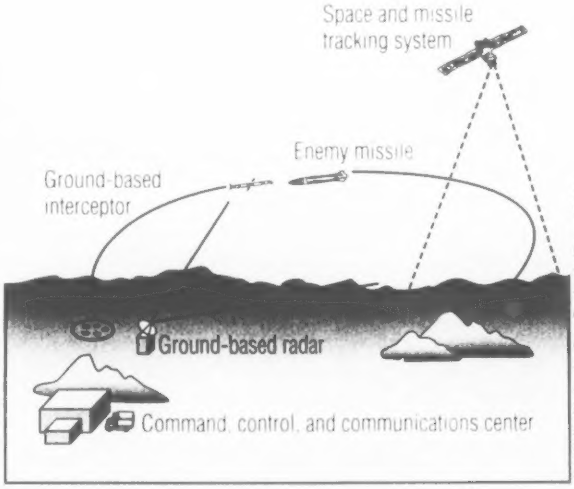
A National Missile Defense System. Throughout 1995 and 1996, many Republican lawmakers were persistent in the call for an increased defense budget. They cited the need for improved high-technology weapons systems as the main reason for this increase. In particular, some legislators wanted to create a missile defense system to defend the nation in the event of a long-range missile attack.

Supporters argue that such a system is needed to defend the United States from rivals such as Iran, Iraq, Libya, or North Korea. Some analysts predict that those countries may build or buy long-range missiles in the coming years, which could be used to send nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons to the United States. Supporters point out that $40 billion was invested in research for the Star Wars program. Even though a space-based missile defense is too complex and expensive, they say that that research can still apply to a simplified version of the concept.

On the other hand, critics believe that the threat of a long-range missile attack by a "rogue" country is unlikely and at least fifteen years in the future. They think that spending up to $60 billion to defend against such a remote threat is imprudent. In fact, opponents

A New Missile Defense System?

Finding a way to protect the United States from nuclear missile attack is difficult. Even a simple system relies on advanced technology. As shown here, a satellite in space would follow an incoming enemy missile and send signals to radar stations on the ground. U.S. forces would then shoot a rocket from a silo underground. The radar station would guide the rocket to destroy the missile before it hits U.S. soil. A military office—called a command, control, and communications center—would oversee the operation and make sure it works properly.


Space and missile tracking system
Enemy missile
Ground-based interceptor
Ground-based radar
Command, control, and communications center

© 1996 The Washington Post. Reprinted with permission think the costs of developing even a basic missile defense system are simply too high. They also assert that a national missile defense system would violate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which forbids such a defense system. Moreover, critics point out that such a plan would also derail other arms control treaties, particularly the second Strategic Arms Reduction Talks Treaty (START II), which aims to reduce U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals.

OUTLOOK

Peacekeeping and humanitarian missions have intensified the debate over the proper role of the U.S. military in the post–Cold War world. President Clinton and his defense and foreign policy advisers are faced with two important questions: What does "national security" mean in the 1990s, and how should the government organize its defense forces to ensure that security?

Some Americans believe that the defense budget should be increased to pay for the development of new weapons systems. Others say that some high-technology weapons may lack utility in regional conflicts that now preoccupy the U.S. military. Faced with a reduced defense budget and bitter debates over foreign policy priorities, leaders have found that forging a new direction for the nation's defense is no easy task.

THE DEBATE: DEFENSE

The U.S. Defense Budget Should Be Increased.

PRO: The government's first priority is to protect the national security of the United States. At this point, the U.S. military's ability to respond to crises like the Persian Gulf War is in jeopardy. Increasing defense spending on high-technology weaponry would provide the United States with the most advanced military possible. Such spending would help maintain American jobs and help the growing economy.

CON: The U.S. government already spends too much money on defense. Because the threat from the former Soviet Union is gone, the United States does not need to develop and buy more sophisticated weapons. The budget deficit requires reductions in all government programs, including defense. Defense cuts would allow more money to go to domestic programs such as housing, education, and crime prevention.

The U.S. Military Should Participate in Peacekeeping Missions.

PRO: With the end of the Cold War, the U.S. military must prepare to fight limited conflicts in world trouble spots. As the only global superpower left, the United States must use its strength to help the United Nations and other multilateral forces deal with civil wars and human crises worldwide. Such missions, including the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia, are in the U.S. national interest because they assert U.S. leadership and stress global cooperation.

CON: American troops should not be the "global police force," nor should they become part of a multilateral army. Instead, the United States should maintain a military force adequate to defend its national security, and no more. Committing forces to regions of the world that are embroiled in civil war would lead to a long-term U.S. military presence in those countries as well as American casualties. Such missions would also cost money when the budget should be decreased.

The United States Should Develop a Missile Defense System.

PRO: A national missile defense system would protect the United States from long-range missile attack. As more countries gain the technology to build and deploy long-range missiles, such a system will become necessary. Besides, other nations such as China or Russia already have long-range missiles. In addition, developing a missile defense system, however basic, would help make long-range missiles obsolete.

CON: Developing even a basic missile defense system would be too expensive in this era of defense cutbacks. Other defense needs are more urgent and practical. Moreover, such a system would actually hinder arms control. It would violate the ABM treaty, which expressly forbids the development of a national missile defense system, and it would jeopardize Russian approval of START II.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

In recent years, democratic governments have emerged in many new countries. In 1996, there were 118 democratic governments, more than twice the number of democracies in the 1970s. As more people have more of a say in their governments through free elections, the rights of individuals have become increasingly important in international relations.

World leaders have signed many agreements about the fundamental rights of every human being. At the same time, some countries have continued brutal human rights violations. In recent years, the world has heard about genocide during the wars in Bosnia and Rwanda as well as political executions in Myanmar (Burma). Even under democratic governments, individual rights are not always fully respected.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should U.S. foreign policy focus on protecting human rights?
- Should American troops promote democracy in other nations?
- Should the U.S. military pursue alleged war criminals?

For decades, policymakers in the United States have promoted democracy and human rights around the world. However, the degree to which these objectives are in the United States' national interest is a matter of debate. Should human rights in other countries be a top foreign policy priority of the United States? Should American leaders send troops to encourage democracy overseas? While U.S. policymakers want to see democratic governments take root around the world, they must also protect other vital interests, such as maintaining beneficial economic and diplomatic relationships.

BACKGROUND

Democracy Around the World

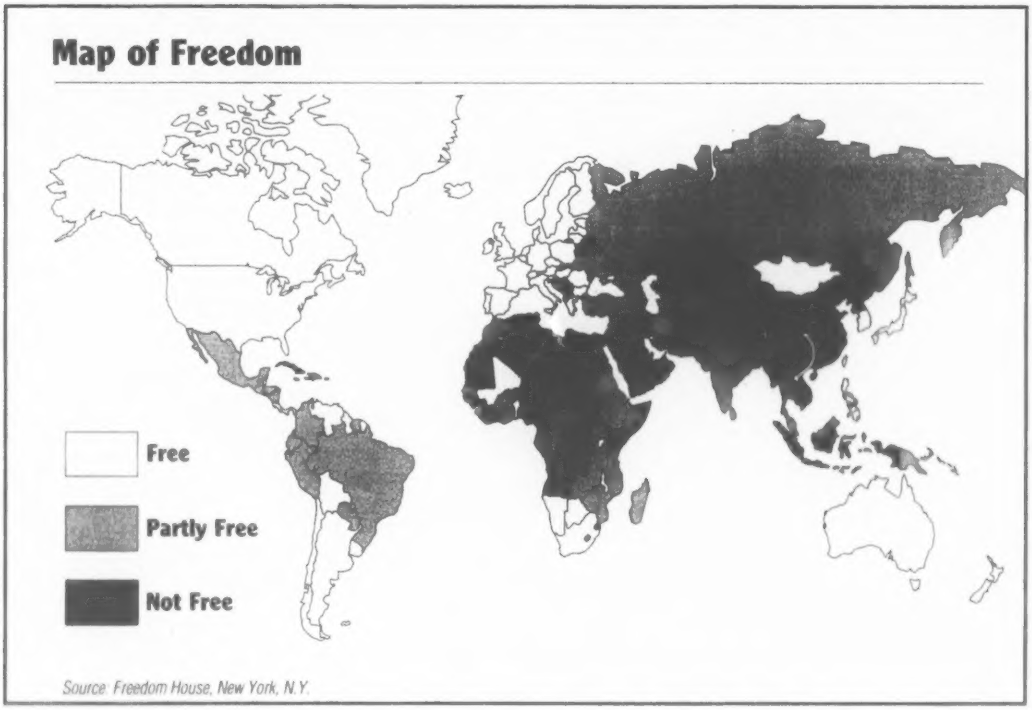
Democracy and U.S. Interests. The United States is the oldest continuous democracy in the world today. Throughout much of the twentieth century, U.S. leaders have promoted democracy around the world. They have supported fair and free elections in other countries because such elections are beneficial to U.S. national interests, such as security and trade.

Because their leaders are elected by the people, democratic governments are often more politically stable than dictatorships. Such leaders often share American values and are eager to become U.S. military allies. In addition, democracies are not imperialistic; they tend to respect the national borders of other countries. Thus, the United States is safer from military attack if there are more democratic nations.

Democracies usually have free-market economies; that is, their economies are controlled by the forces of supply and demand, not by their governments. Because the U.S. economy is so large, other free-market countries want to trade goods and services with the United States. Many economists assert that greater international trade, especially increases in U.S. exports (sales) to other countries, improves the American economy.

Finally, democratic nations often share American ideals. Elected officials tend to permit more individual freedoms, such as freedom of expression and religion. As these ideals take root in more countries, U.S. leaders believe that the American way of life is more secure. Therefore, U.S. officials believe it is important to support and promote democracy.

The Spread of Freedom. Although the United States was founded on the principles of individual liberties, more than 150 years passed before those freedoms were granted to everyone in American society. Only after freeing its slaves and granting suffrage to women could the United States truly be called the "Land of



Map of Freedom

Source: Freedom House, New York, N.Y.

In the map shown here, "free" countries have democratic elections and a broad range of individual and press freedoms. "Partly free" countries have restricted elections and personal freedoms. Those elections may be unfair or dominated by a single party, or the judicial systems may not be entirely just. Nations marked "not free" do not have elections, and individual liberties are severely limited.

Liberty." Some argue that, even today, the United States needs to work on ensuring equality and freedom for all. Similarly, it has taken centuries for democracy to spread around the world, and even within democratic countries individuals enjoy freedom and equality to varying degrees.

Decolonization. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Portugal, and Spain established colonies in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. From the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century, European powers began to lose control of those colonies. (That trend began earlier in the nineteenth century for Spain's colonies in Latin America.) One reason for the end of European imperialism was the high cost of maintaining and administering these territories. After World War II, the international community's support for "self-determination"—the belief that a country should have the ability to govern itself without outside control or interference—further diminished colonial power.

After gaining independence between the 1950s and 1970s, most former colonies aligned with either the United States or the Soviet Union. These years were the height of the Cold War, when the United States and the Soviet Union were vying for world influence and power. Some of those new nations sided with the West and formed democratic governments. Examples include Botswana and Mauritius in Africa, India and Malaysia in Asia, and several Caribbean nations.

Among these democracies, however, citizens have a broad range of electoral and personal freedoms. For example, Malaysia's political system is dominated by one political party, and the Malay government restricts the freedoms of speech, press, and public assembly. Thus, democratic elections do not always lead to full freedoms.

The Fall of the Iron Curtain. With the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, the "Iron Curtain" that separated eastern and western Europe fell, and so did the political distinctions between democratic countries in the West and socialist countries in the East. Many former Soviet republics, including Russia and Ukraine, and eastern European countries, such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, have held democratic elections and are converting to market economies.

The fall of the Soviet Union also had a ripple effect outside Europe. New democracies emerged in Mongolia in Asia and Benin, South Africa, and Zambia in Africa. Today, almost all Latin American countries have democratically elected governments. Once again, however, those citizens sometimes have limited electoral and personal freedoms. For example, although Mexico holds multiparty elections, one political party has dominated those elections and controlled the federal government for decades.

The end of the Cold War and decolonization have resulted in an unprecedented number of democracies worldwide. In 1996, there were 118 democratic governments, more than double the number in the 1970s. Nevertheless, most governments in Africa and the Middle East and many in Asia still do not hold free elections or honor individual rights.

The U.S. Role in Democratization. For many years, U.S. leaders have promoted democracy in other countries. During the Cold War, American policymakers focused on containing authoritarian communist governments and supporting democracy among U.S. allies. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, U.S. interests are no longer threatened by communism. American leaders have exerted their influence using a variety of tools, including close diplomatic ties, military alliances, trade, foreign aid, and—if necessary—military intervention.

Panama. In some situations, American leaders have sent U.S. troops to support democracies in other

In the 1970s and 1980s, U.S. leaders condemned South Africa's white-ruled government and its system of racial discrimination called apartheid. After many years of economic sanctions and protests, the international community and the black majority in South Africa forced the government to adopt reforms and ultimately to create a democratic government based on racial equality. Shown here is Nelson Mandela, a former antiapartheid activist and political prisoner, casting his ballot in the 1994 election that won him the presidency.

Reuters/Phillipe Wojazer/Archive Photos

THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA

In 1996, a polling group based in Chile conducted an opinion poll of citizens in seventeen Latin American countries. They found that most Latin Americans think democracy is the best form of government. However, only 27 percent of respondents were content with how democracy works in their countries. Economists think that widespread government inefficiency and corruption have resulted in almost imperceptible economic gains for most Latin Americans, thus explaining their disenchantment with their governments. As a result, some policymakers think that a broader cross section of Latin American people must share in economic rewards for democracy to thrive in the region.

countries, particularly in the Western Hemisphere. Between 1984 and 1989, General Manuel Noriega, a dictator, ruled Panama after ousting a democratically elected leader. American officials suspected that Noriega was a drug trafficker, and they tried to remove him from power through economic sanctions.

In 1989, Noriega permitted a presidential election, but the candidate he favored did not win. When Noriega ignored the election outcome, President George Bush thought that Americans living in Panama were in danger. He sent U.S. forces to Panama to arrest the dictator and restore democracy. Noriega surrendered and was brought to the United States on drug trafficking charges. The Panamanian people largely supported the U.S. intervention, and democracy was reestablished in a matter of days. Nevertheless, the long-term success of democracy in Panama is uncertain because some analysts argue that Panama's democratic government still does not respect individual rights.

Haiti. In 1994, American troops were sent to Haiti to help restore that country's democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to power. While U.S. forces were on the way to Haiti, its military leaders, who had seized power from Aristide in a 1991 coup, agreed to step down. American troops remained in the Caribbean nation until 1996 as part of a United Nations force to ensure a peaceful transition back to democracy. A newly elected president, René Préval, took office in 1996, but questions remain about the long-term stability of Haiti's democracy and about the government's human rights abuses.

Bosnia. A three-year-long war in the former Yugoslavian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina prompted U.S. military intervention in 1995. In December of that year, President Bill Clinton sent 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia as part of a 60,000-strong NATO force. Their duty was to enforce the Dayton Agreements, a U.S.–brokered peace plan. The presence of U.S., Russian, and NATO troops helped Bosnians to vote peacefully in an election in September 1996, though on-site observers think it was not entirely free and fair. In addition, questions of justice have arisen. By the end of 1996, the United Nations war crimes tribunal had indicted eighty people for human rights violations in the Bosnian war, including ethnic cleansing and genocide. Only seven of the eighty, however, had been arrested. Some foreign policy experts question whether the rival ethnic groups will be able to live together in peace if those guilty of wartime atrocities are not punished.

Human Rights

What Are Human Rights? The term "human rights" incorporates a broad range of ideas that are often described in four categories. Most central are the rights that protect an individual's security. Governments should protect citizens from genocide; slavery; torture; cruel, degrading, or inhuman punishment; arbitrary arrest or imprisonment; denial of fair trial; and invasion of their homes. Human rights also encompass people's ability to fulfill their basic human needs, such as food, clothing, shelter, education, and health care. Furthermore, there are civil and political liberties, including freedom of speech, press, association, and the freedom of movement within and to and from a person's country. Finally, there are human rights laws pertaining to freedom from discrimination on the basis of race, color, ethnic origin, religion, social status, and gender.

Human Rights Documents. To avoid repeating the tragedy of World War I and World War II, many of the world's leaders met in 1945 to create the United Nations (UN). In doing so, they assessed their core values on human dignity and rights. Since then, the United Nations, many regional organizations, and individual countries have developed statements calling for the protection of the basic rights of every person.

The first global human rights documents were the UN Charter, approved in 1945, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved by the United Nations in 1948. A centerpiece of global human rights legislation, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is largely based on the U.S. Bill of Rights, Britain's Magna Carta, and France's Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Other important human rights documents include the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, both approved by the United Nations in 1966. These documents form the basis of international law that protects human rights in all countries that have signed them.

Human Rights Activism. As the number of democratic countries and human rights laws have grown, concern for

A PERMANENT WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL?

Today's war crimes tribunals derive from the United Nations War Crime Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany, where many of those responsible for the Holocaust and other crimes against humanity were tried after World War II. Currently, the United Nations creates tribunals to deal with specific wars. However, some policymakers favor the creation of a permanent international criminal court to address crimes against humanity with consistency and efficiency, hoping to deter would-be war criminals and reaffirm the international community's intolerance for atrocities.

such rights around the world has also increased. Human rights advocates have created a number of nongovernmental organizations, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, which publicize rights violations and encourage concerned governments and individuals to pressure the offending governments to improve their human rights records.

At one time, human rights was considered a matter of internal governmental policy. Today, many foreign governments claim a legitimate right to pressure other countries about violations. Human rights have gained credibility as a foreign policy issue because of improved global communications and the large increase in international trade and investment over the last thirty years.

Linking Human Rights and Trade. One of the biggest human rights showdowns in recent years occurred between the United States and China. China's human rights violations are an especially thorny problem for American policymakers because China is a large country with a booming economy. The conflict between U.S. business interests in China and the American values of individual liberty is a classic case of competing concerns in foreign relations.

Robert Harbison, © 1995 The Christian Science Monitor

China's 1.2 billion people make it the most populous country in the world. To ease the economic burden of a growing population, in the late 1970s, China established a population control policy that calls for one child per family. As a result of the "one child" policy, Chinese orphanages are full of children, mostly girls. Some state-run Chinese orphanages have come under international scrutiny for abusing and starving their children.

In 1989, President George Bush decided to renew a special trading privilege called "most favored nation" (MFN) trade status for China. It grants Chinese goods reduced tariffs upon entering U.S. ports. Therefore, with MFN, Chinese goods are less expensive and thus more attractive in the American market. Human rights activists criticized this decision because it came soon after China's military attack on prodemocracy demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

In the early 1990s, human rights organizations discovered that Chinese prison labor was being used to make goods for export to the United States. In addition, the U.S. State Department reported that China continued its unfair judicial procedures and mistreatment of political dissidents. Therefore, in 1994, President Bill Clinton threatened to revoke China's MFN trade status unless its human rights record improved.

Chinese leaders vehemently opposed linking trade with human rights, an issue it considered a domestic matter. American business interests also opposed the link because they feared that Beijing would retaliate and cut off U.S. investment in China's growing economy. Human rights organizations supported Clinton's policy. However, after heated exchanges between U.S. and Chinese leaders, President Clinton softened his stance on Chinese human rights violations. He stated that the prison labor issue was resolved and that further human rights concerns would be handled separately from trade issues. China's MFN status was renewed in June 1994, and again in 1996.

"Democracies" and Human Rights. The violation of human rights is not limited to authoritarian governments like that of China. There are many countries that hold relatively free and fair elections for federal and local officials while restricting some fundamental democratic rights and liberties. For example, several Latin American countries had long periods of military rule between decolonization and democratization. Therefore, aspects of military rule continue in some democracies in the region. Human rights activists accuse Mexican and Brazilian police forces of human rights violations, and they say that both countries sometimes use improper judicial procedures. Rights groups claim that law enforcement officials in these countries execute people without giving them trials and illegally hold people in jail (called detainees) without charges.

CURRENT ISSUES

Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy. Although human rights now attract worldwide attention, many Americans disagree about whether the U.S. government should make human rights a central issue in its foreign policy. Protecting human rights was a priority during the presidency of Jimmy Carter. However, President Carter was criticized for emphasizing what many thought was idealism over realism in international relations—a dilemma U.S. policymakers continue to grapple with today.

RADIO FREE ASIA

In 1996, Radio Free Asia, a U.S. government–funded radio service, began broadcasting to China. In the tradition of Radio Free Europe, which broadcast uncensored information to communist countries in that region during the Cold War, Radio Free Asia plans to funnel similar programming to Cambodia, China, Laos, Myanmar (Burma), Tibet, and Vietnam.

Many Americans believe that freedom is a universal right of all human beings and that U.S. foreign policy must reflect values such as individual liberty, equality, and justice. Moreover, some observers contend that the freedoms of the United States and its allies cannot be secure in a world where freedom is threatened everywhere else. Thus, they argue that U.S. stability will be enhanced if more countries grant their citizens greater freedoms. Supporters of a human rights-based foreign policy believe the United States should condemn, and take some form of action against, any government that uses terror or brutality, even if that country has otherwise friendly relations with the United States.

Critics of this approach say the United States should not pursue policies based primarily on morality. They argue that U.S. leaders have to be pragmatic and work with all economically and militarily powerful countries. Therefore, policymakers must place other prac-

Srinivas Kunugatti/Archive Photos

In 1996, the United Nations International Labor Organization estimated that the total number of child workers worldwide is 250 million. It considered the problem worst in Asian nations. Child laborers often work under slave-like conditions and get paid little money. In 1996, journalists accused several American companies of importing clothes, toys, and shoes made by children overseas. Shown here is a boy weaving cloth in India.

tical issues, such as trade and security, ahead of human rights. For example, many say the United States cannot afford to be too critical of China's human rights policies because Chinese leaders, if pushed too hard, could threaten U.S. allies in Asia with military action and restrict U.S. access to their lucrative market. Furthermore, many experts say that if American leaders pressure an ally with a less-than-perfect human rights record to adopt a democratic form of government, they risk seeing a more repressive government take over and make conditions worse, not better. Critics say that the United States has a stronger national interest in building beneficial economic relationships than in forcing countries to become democratic, and that these strong economic ties will eventually bring about democratic change.

U.S. Troops and Democracy. U.S. military missions in Panama, Haiti, and Bosnia have triggered debate among policymakers. Some believe that the U.S. military should protect democratic allies to enhance

Archive Photos/Reuters/Roberto Armocida

On December 19, 1989, approximately 24,000 U.S. troops launched Operation Just Cause in Panama. Within two weeks, Manual Noriega was arrested. At that time, the mission in Panama was the largest engagement of U.S. troops since the Vietnam War.

American security. Supporters believe military intervention is essential to stop the rule of dictators who overthrow democracies and ignore the outcomes of elections. They contend that the missions that have had the greatest success are those in which a large military force had the support of most local people and acted swiftly to defeat the dictator. Under such circumstances, supporters assert that U.S. military action can successfully promote democracy and the rights of individuals.

Critics of using the U.S. military to build democracies argue that American troops should be used only in situations that threaten national security. They contend that authoritarian governments in small countries such as Panama and Haiti did not threaten the safety of the United States. Moreover, they add that such missions are expensive and dangerous and require a long-term U.S. commitment. Instability in these countries sometimes requires democracy-building missions to be extended, which in turn leads to rising costs for the United States.

Capturing War Criminals. The rules of war are governed by international law. When individuals commit grave offenses against the laws of warfare, those acts are known as war crimes. In recent years, war crimes—particularly crimes against humanity—have become international concerns. Nationalist wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the central African country of Rwanda have been characterized by "ethnic cleansing" and genocide. In Rwanda, approximately 800,000 people were killed between April and May 1994; most were members of the Tutsi ethnic minority. Some Bosnian leaders of the Serbian ethnic group have been accused of systematically trying to rid the nation of Muslims through detention camps and mass executions during the years of conflict.

In 1993, the United Nations set up a tribunal, or international criminal court, to hear cases against alleged war criminals in Bosnia. The UN also set up a similar court for Rwanda's war crimes. In the fall of 1996, a Croat foot soldier became the first person found guilty of war crimes by an international tribunal since the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals following World War II. Though some suspected Bosnian war criminals had been arrested by the beginning of 1997, observers point out that officials had arrested no high-level suspects—for example, those who might have planned and ordered mass executions.

Some military officials have suggested creating an international special police force to pursue suspected war criminals and bring them to trial. Supporters think that U.S. troops should participate in such a force to help further justice and peace. They argue that catching and trying war criminals would help improve relations among ethnic groups in warring countries because trials pin the blame on certain people, not whole ethnic groups. Proponents say that fair trials and justice would reduce the likelihood of revenge killings and

Popperfoto/Archive Photos

In the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the world witnessed the worst human rights atrocities in Europe since World War II. As of early 1997, however, only seven of the eighty indicted war criminals had been apprehended. Still at large were suspects Radovan Karadzic, former leader of the Bosnian Serbs (shown here), and Ratko Mladic, Karadzic's former military chief.

renewed warfare. They also contend that war criminals must be tried swiftly and publicly to prove the international community's support for human rights laws and to discourage leaders from carrying out such atrocities in future.

Opponents of this approach counter that high-ranking war criminals frequently have well-armed bodyguards and followers. They say that such criminals do not threaten national security and are not worth risking American lives. Beyond capturing war criminals, in most cases, witnesses fear testifying against those suspects, and establishing guilt in a court of law is very difficult. As in the case of Rwanda, capturing war criminals has resulted in more tragedy because potential witnesses have been killed to silence them. Consequently, opponents argue that detaining war criminals, particularly high-ranking ones, actually increases the chances of renewed fighting and warfare.

OUTLOOK

For decades, American policymakers have promoted democracy, but today's human rights abuses remind them that a viable democracy should honor individual liberties—not just allow democratic elections. In addition, those governments must have fair judicial procedures. The dilemma for U.S. policymakers is that protecting human rights does not always coincide with promoting other interests, such as trade. While many American leaders remain committed to the ideals upon which their country was founded, they also believe that they must balance those ideals with present-day realities, such as trade, economic interdependence, and national security.

THE DEBATE: DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

U.S. Foreign Policy Should Focus on Protecting Human Rights.

PRO: The United States was founded on the principles of liberty, equality, and justice; those values should guide its foreign policy. To gain the support of the American people, U.S. foreign policy must also reflect their most deeply held beliefs. When foreign countries abuse the rights of their citizens, the world is not safe for other democratic countries. Similarly, when more people in more countries gain additional freedoms, the United States will be more secure.

CON: Morality alone cannot drive today's complex international relations. There are many issues besides human rights that policymakers must consider, such as trade and national security. If the United States pushes its undemocratic allies toward freedom too fast, a more repressive government could take over. In addition, by maintaining good relations with undemocratic allies, the United States might be able to persuade leaders to give their citizens more freedom.

American Troops Should Be Used to Promote Democracy in Other Nations.

PRO: When dictators or military rulers overthrow elected leaders, U.S. armed forces should intervene to protect a democratic ally and its people. Having more democratic allies around the world enhances U.S. security and the economy. U.S. businesses can export more goods and services to such allies, thereby creating more American jobs.

CON: Dictators do not necessarily threaten U.S. security, and such interventions are costly and dangerous. Building democracies in other countries takes many years. World leaders have had to extend peacekeeping missions, resulting in increased costs. Some missions have not yet created democracies that protect individual rights.

The U.S. Military Should Pursue Alleged War Criminals.

PRO: The United States and other countries must take a stand against those who plot, order, and carry out atrocities. Otherwise, would-be war criminals will think they can get away with such human rights violations in future. If U.S. troops helped arrest suspected war criminals and bring them to trial, people in countries shattered by civil war and suffering would more likely find peace.

CON: Sending U.S. troops to capture suspected war criminals is a dangerous operation against people who do not threaten the national security of the United States. Besides, it is difficult to convict and sentence war criminals because people fear testifying against them. Arresting suspected war criminals might result in murders of witnesses, possibly renewing warfare.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Trade has become a cornerstone of international relations in the 1990s. The end of the Cold War opened the way for increased cooperation among nations, creating new economic partnerships.

Trading goods and services with other nations is vital to the U.S. economy. Many members of Congress and most economists believe that free and open trade is the key to a prosperous global economy. Free-trade advocates supported congressional approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993 and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1994.

However, many Americans think that the United States should not trade freely with nations that abuse human rights, pollute the environment, or put U.S. goods at a disadvantage in their marketplaces. Some experts argue that new free-trade agreements will increase the U.S. trade deficit—the amount by which the country's imports exceed exports. In addition, they say that if sales of U.S. goods overseas decline, thousands of domestic manufacturing jobs may be lost forever. Some Americans support a protectionist policy of imposing tariffs (taxes on imports) and quotas on foreign goods to reduce imports and protect jobs in the United States.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Will free trade cause a loss in the number of U.S. jobs?
- Should the United States do more to reduce the trade deficit with China?
- Should the U.S. government try to manage trade?

However, free-trade proponents say protectionism will harm both the U.S. and global economies. The effects of free-trade pacts like NAFTA and GATT on jobs and wages will test the claims of Americans on both sides of the issue.

BACKGROUND

Trading with the World

Why Do Nations Trade? When a country tries to produce most of the goods and services its people require, its economy grows at a slow rate. Faster economic growth occurs when a country exports its most plentiful or most easily produced goods to other nations and imports goods that other nations can produce more efficiently.

Most countries have a particular strength or comparative advantage—such as natural resources, climate, skilled labor, or technical superiority—that enables them to make certain products at a lower cost than other countries. Comparative advantage allows each country to profit by trading the goods it produces most efficiently for goods other countries make more efficiently.

For example, in the nineteenth century, Great Britain, with its factories, was the world's most efficient manufacturer of textiles, while Portugal, with its ideal climate and fertile soil, produced fine wines. By concentrating resources on what each did best and by exchanging these products, the two countries had all the wine and textiles they needed, plus money left over to make or buy other goods. In this way, trade boosts a country's standard of living.

Protectionism. Free trade, or trade without restrictions, has been rare in the world marketplace throughout most of the twentieth century. Most countries adopt at least some protectionist measures such as tariffs and quotas to protect certain industries or encourage consumers to buy domestic goods. Tariffs are taxes on imports that increase the price of foreign-made products. Quotas limit the amount of specific products that can be imported. Ideally, these trade barriers, which are measures enacted to protect jobs in newly formed or struggling industries, are temporary.

Most economists agree that trade barriers result in higher prices for domestic products because domestic companies no longer need to keep prices low to compete with imports. If consumers have to spend more

PANA

Statistics show that American investment in a foreign country leads to greater U.S. exports to that nation. Here, a U.S. fast-food restaurant in Japan may be making headway in the quest for increased sales of U.S. goods and services in Japan.

money on one product, they have less to spend on other products. This trend can lead to unemployment in other domestic industries.

Protectionist measures are risky because the economies of the world are interconnected, or interdependent. If nations set up trade barriers, an escalating series of retaliatory tariffs and quotas—a trade war—could result, possibly leading to economic problems in many countries.

Trade Wars and the Great Depression. The last major trade war occurred in the 1930s. Many historians blame the U.S. Congress for touching off the trade war because it passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act in 1930. This act greatly increased tariffs on all goods imported into the United States. Other nations retaliated by raising tariffs on American goods. Prices increased for almost everything bought and sold around the world. International demand for foreign-made products plummeted because of the high prices, causing entire industries to shut down. The trade wars of the 1930s thus deepened the effects of the Great Depression.

U.S. Trade Policy

American Trade Leadership After World War II. Following the Second World War, the United States provided economic and technical assistance to Europe and Japan, and encouraged the nations of western Europe to coordinate their trade policies. In 1957, six nations in western Europe created the European Economic Community (or EC, for European Community). The EC abolished import restrictions between member countries and established some common terms for marketing their products outside Europe. With the passage of the Treaty on European Union in 1993, the EC changed its name to the European Union (EU).

In the postwar world, U.S. companies expanded international trade by selling their goods and opening factories overseas, especially in Latin America, parts of Europe, and the Middle East. By opening factories overseas, these multinational corporations took advantage of lower labor costs and created new markets for American consumer goods. The new factories provided foreign workers with jobs and therefore the money with which to buy U.S. products.

BIGGEST U.S. TRADING PARTNERS

The top ten U.S. trading partners for exports and imports in 1996.

1. Canada
2. Japan
3. Mexico
4. China
5. Germany
6. United Kingdom
7. Korea
8. Taiwan
9. Singapore
10. France

Source: Department of Commerce

Encouraging International Trade. During the 1940s, leaders of the international community negotiated two agreements to encourage world trade.

Bretton Woods. Because each country has a different form of currency, international trade can be very complicated. When countries buy and sell goods from one another, they need to know how much their currency is worth in another country. For example, how many French francs would 100 U.S. dollars be worth? Exchange rates determine the value of one country's currency in another country. If a country has a favorable exchange rate with the United States, U.S. dollars will be worth more (buy more goods) in that country than if the exchange rate were unfavorable. In 1944, forty-four Western nations met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to establish a fair way of determining worldwide exchange rates.

Under the Bretton Woods system, exchange rates between foreign currencies were fixed against the value of the American dollar. The system worked well at first because the U.S. economy was much stronger than the other economies of the world. However, after a few years, the economies of other nations grew and the relative value of the U.S. dollar went down, throwing the Bretton Woods system out of balance. Therefore, in 1971, the system was reformed into a floating exchange system, whereby the values of currencies relative to one another are free to change daily. In a floating exchange system, the value of a country's currency reflects the health of its economy.

GATT. In 1947, twenty-three noncommunist nations signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, establishing a code of conduct for trading nations. Under the provisions of GATT, nations have sought to increase world trade by reducing tariffs and other barriers.

In 1993, 123 nations took part in GATT talks. Meetings of GATT members provide a continuing international forum for nations to discuss trade issues. These meetings, called "rounds," have produced important trade agreements. The Kennedy Round (1967) and the Tokyo Round (1979), for example, resulted in substantial worldwide tariff reductions. In 1993, after seven years of negotiations in the Uruguay Round, GATT members approved a sweeping new trade accord that eliminated import tariffs on thousands of products, phased out quota systems, and established a new global organization called the World Trade Organization (WTO) to settle trade disputes. Many trade experts believe that the existence of the WTO has encouraged nations with trade disputes to settle their differences instead of resorting to trade warfare.

The United States and World Trade Today

The Trade Deficit. Since the mid-1970s, the United States has imported more goods than it has exported. The trade deficit total (including goods and services) grew to $114.2 billion in 1996. Most economists believe that the trade deficit has caused hundreds of thousands of job losses in, for example, the steel, automobile, and textile manufacturing industries.

Economists point to several reasons for the growing trade deficit. Some U.S. trading partners limit the amount and kinds of U.S. goods they will allow into their markets. The trade deficit has also increased because American consumers buy more goods made overseas rather than buying similar goods produced in the United States. In response to growing concern about the trade deficit, Congress passed the Trade Act of 1988, which requires the president to limit imports from countries that do not give American exports the same treatment as those foreign products receive in the United States.

EMBARGOES AND U.S. TRADE

Under an embargo, U.S. businesses pledge not to send goods to an unfriendly nation to force that nation's government to improve its policies or actions. The almost forty-year-old embargo against Cuba has some U.S. businesses complaining that they are being denied access to a potentially profitable new market. They argue that other nations that do not honor the trade embargo, such as Canada, are making money and creating new jobs because they can do business in Cuba. Supporters of the embargo say that ending communism in Cuba is more important than opening a new market for U.S. businesses.

U.S. Trading Relationships. In the 1990s, the United States government further expanded its trading relationships with nations around the world. Officials are hopeful that these agreements will succeed in promoting economic prosperity and spur other countries to enter similar agreements.

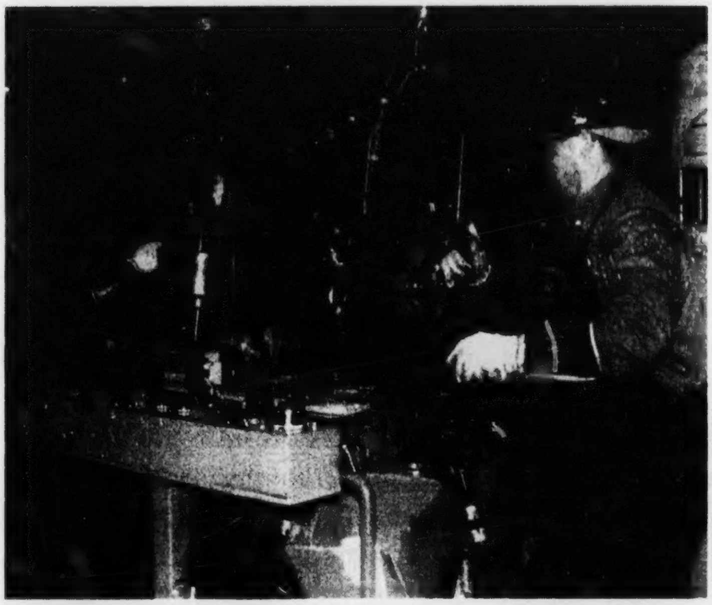
The European Union. Throughout 1992 and 1993, U.S. and European trade officials continued the Uruguay Round of GATT talks in hopes of finalizing a new world trade agreement. In December 1993, negotiators from the United States and Europe broke a deadlock over agriculture and other trade issues and approved the biggest free-trade agreement in history.

North American Free Trade Agreement. In January 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect. Under NAFTA, Canada, Mexico, and the United States are gradually eliminating barriers on farm products and manufactured goods and removing restrictions on "cross-border" investments.

Many observers agree that since NAFTA was enacted, the overall effect on the U.S. economy has been minimal. Although some factories have moved their operations to Mexico, many Americans have gained employment due to a rising demand for U.S. exports. As the long-term effect of NAFTA on the U.S. economy becomes clearer, it could determine whether the United States will pursue trade agreements with other countries in the future. For example, by 2005, U.S. officials have pledged to form a "Free Trade Area of the Americas" agreement with countries in Central and South America. If the economic effects of NAFTA in the next few years are positive, lawmakers may favor this and other similar agreements.

Trade with Japan. Tensions between the United States and Japan intensified in the 1990s because of Japan's trade advantage over the United States—nearly $48 billion in 1996. Some Americans believe this imbalance exists because the Japanese impose strict trade barriers to keep foreign goods out of their market.

In October 1994, Japan agreed to open its market to more U.S. companies, including insurance, telecommunications, and medical equipment industries. In 1995, U.S. and Japanese trade representatives reached an agreement designed to increase Japanese consumer access to U.S.–made cars and car parts. In 1997, the

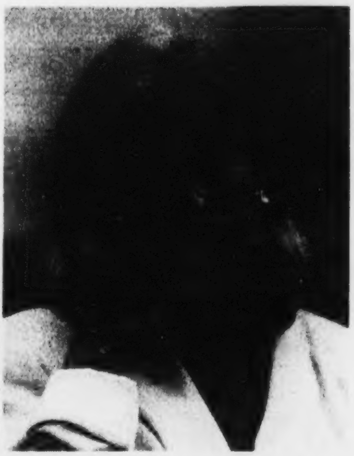


Though many U.S. officials support the expansion of NAFTA and other free trade agreements, critics fear that low-wage workers, like these in a Mexican factory, will take jobs away from U.S. citizens.

Archive Photo/Reuters/Heriberto Rodriguez

United States went before the World Trade Organization to charge that Japan had discriminated against Kodak, an American photography supply manufacturer. Some lawmakers advocate imposing trade barriers on Japanese products if Japanese leaders do not implement these new trade agreements and further open their market to U.S. goods.

Trade with China. Although reducing the trade deficit with Japan is still a priority for U.S. lawmakers, many believe that the widening trade gap with China will be the greatest problem facing U.S. industries in the next century. Many economists believe that as China's manufacturing sector modernizes and its population continues to grow, it will likely become an even more powerful world trading force. In June 1996, for the first time, the United States had a larger trade deficit with China than it did with Japan.



Reuters/Stephen Jaffe/Archive Photos

In 1996, talk-show host Kathie Lee Gifford found herself embroiled in the controversy over child labor. Human rights activists accused Gifford of looking the other way while underage workers in Honduras manufactured a clothing line bearing her name. Gifford said she knew nothing of this activity and acted quickly to end it. The incident helped bring the issue of fair labor practices into public debate.

The trade gap with China is also tied to many other foreign policy concerns, including China's poor human rights record and abuses of American copyright laws. The U.S. government annually reviews its trading relationship with China and decides whether to renew its most favored nation (MFN) status. Nations with MFN status are granted reduced tariffs on the goods they sell in the United States. Some lawmakers believe that the U.S. government should revoke China's MFN status until it improves its trading practices and its human rights record. However, U.S. businesses are eager to do business in China because they believe that it will produce increased profits. In addition, according to some analysts, increased exports from China could also mean lower prices for American consumers.

CURRENT ISSUES

Free Trade and U.S. Jobs. Nations that trade goods have one primary goal: economic improvement. A country becomes more prosperous as more of its available workers are employed. Therefore, policymakers and economists look to the unemployment rate as one indicator of the health of the U.S. economy. Free trade's effect on the number and quality of U.S. jobs is a matter of debate among many lawmakers and economists.

Opponents of NAFTA, GATT, and other free trade agreements argue that they will result in a substantial loss of American jobs, particularly in low-technology manufacturing. They say that recent trade treaties encourage American businesses to move their factories to Mexico, where employees work for less money. Critics contend that as low-skilled jobs disappear, unskilled and poorly educated U.S. workers often cannot find new jobs. These workers usually cannot afford retraining to enable them to move to higher-skilled jobs, and must often rely on the government for unemployment assistance. Moreover, many analysts argue that losing low-skilled manufacturing jobs also worsens the gap in wages between middle- and lower-income people, contributing to greater economic and social inequality in the United States.

Proponents of free trade contend that liberalized trade policies actually improve the number and quality of American jobs. Although some U.S. industries may lose some low-skilled jobs, many authorities say that free-trade agreements boost U.S. exports, thereby creating many more U.S. jobs than are lost by importing

TRADE IN EASTERN EUROPE

Since the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States has been eager to form trading relationships with newly capitalist nations, such as Russia and Poland. Initial agreements with Russia, for example, have proved successful in reducing tariffs and further opening these markets to Western goods. Businesses in the United States have also been interested in locating factories and retail outlets in eastern Europe, where the appetite for U.S. goods is high. Many of these nations are eager for foreign investment because the communist system left many of the manufacturing and service industries there out-of-date and unable to compete in the world market.

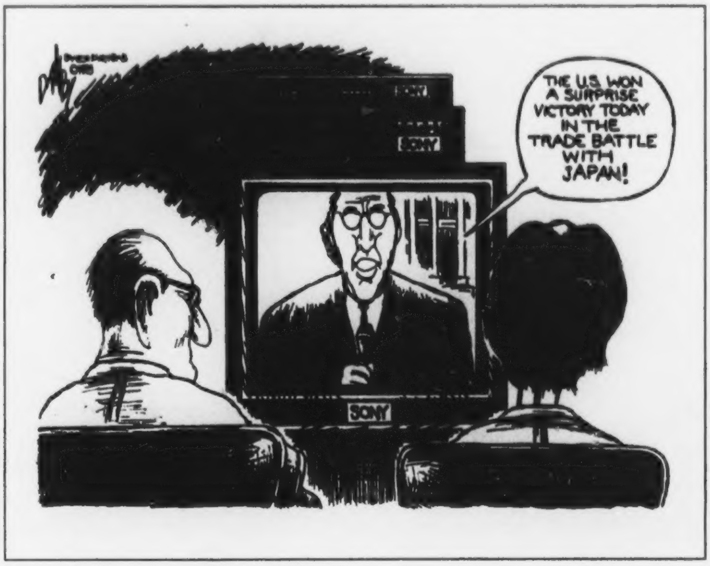
foreign goods. Moreover, many of the newly created jobs are in high-tech fields where American workers can make more money. Supporters say that expanding free trade agreements to areas in South America, East Asia, and Europe will generate hundreds of thousands more jobs in the United States.

U.S. Trade with China. In 1995, China exported nearly $46 billion worth of goods to the United States, such as clothing, toys, and electrical machinery. Meanwhile, U.S. exports to China—such as agricultural products and airplanes—totaled only about $12 billion dollars. Many U.S. officials believe that this imbalance has come about because of unfair Chinese trading practices. American businesses have complained that China protects its state-owned industries from foreign competition by imposing tariffs, requiring foreign firms to be licensed by the Chinese government, and limiting U.S. access to Chinese markets.

In 1995, the U.S. government threatened trade sanctions against China if its leaders did not stop the piracy of intellectual property copyrighted in the United States. Intellectual property includes music recordings, videos, and computer software. U.S. trade representatives claim that piracy in China costs American businesses about $1 billion dollars annually in lost sales. In November 1996, President Clinton met with Chinese president Jiang Zemin to ask China to improve its trading practices. However, China did not agree to any significant reforms.

Some lawmakers believe that the United States needs to be tougher on China. Despite recent efforts to negotiate with Chinese leaders, piracy and discrimination against U.S. goods and businesses are still major concerns. Many argue that the United States should enact trade barriers against Chinese goods or revoke China's MFN status if its leaders are unwilling to adopt fairer trading practices.

Advocates of tariffs and quotas believe that China exploits the U.S. marketplace at the expense of American industries. They contend that although Chinese


THE U.S. WON A SURPRISE VICTORY TODAY IN THE TRADE BATTLE WITH JAPAN!
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George Danby/Bangor Daily News

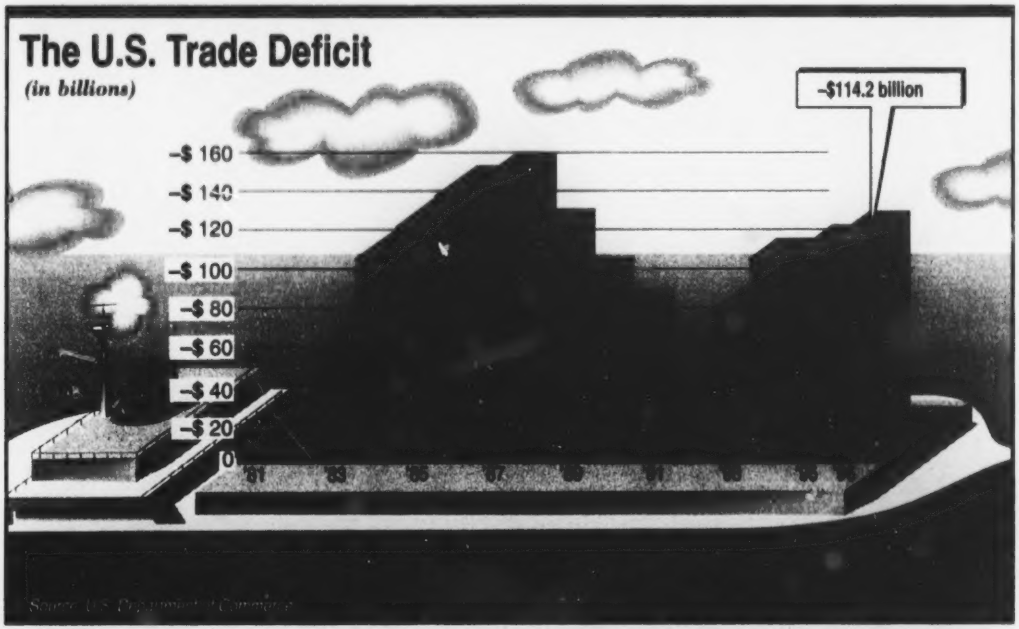
leaders have promised to improve trade relations, the Chinese government has not lived up to its word. Many Americans say that implementing trade barriers against Chinese goods would force China's government to open its market if other nations followed the United States' lead. Some people also believe that the U.S. government could use trade sanctions to force the Chinese government to improve its human rights record.

However, many analysts warn that imposing protectionist measures against China would be disastrous for the American economy. Trade restrictions could provoke China—and perhaps other nations—to retaliate by buying fewer American-made products and erecting more trade barriers of their own. Consumers in the United States would then be the ultimate losers because they would have to pay more for foreign-made goods. Human rights advocates also argue that continued Chinese access to Western goods and services could makes its citizens more open to accepting democratic ideals.

Managed Trade. Many Americans believe a policy of managed trade would better serve the U.S. economy. Under managed trade, the federal government would make more decisions about what industries produce, how much they export, and with whom they trade. Proponents of managed trade argue that the current system allows foreign countries to unfairly keep U.S. goods out of their markets. Many countries, including Japan, have adopted forms of managed trade that help their own industries export products to the United States.

Advocates of a managed trade policy say the U.S. government should help its promising industries export their products by giving them money for high-tech research or by repealing laws that prevent American companies from cooperating with one another. In addition, the government can aid U.S. exporters by negotiating agreements with other countries. Supporters of managed trade believe that these agreements would open foreign markets to American goods in exchange for U.S. commitments to lower trade barriers for foreign goods.

Opponents of managed trade see it as a threat to free trade. They argue that the market, not the government, should determine which goods countries produce, import, and export. They say that, if left alone, the market will



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

The United States has not had a trade surplus since 1975. Today's $114 billion trade deficit results primarily from a $48 billion trade deficit with Japan (mostly motor vehicles) and a $39 billion trade deficit with China (primarily textiles and clothes).

determine which products a country can most profitably export and which products it should import. Critics say that governments that manage trade risk wasting money by supporting industries that may prove to be less profitable. These companies may find that they are unable to export their products to countries that produce the same product for less. Thus, such industries would close, causing unemployment and recession. Some experts further contend that managed trade undermines the GATT system, which has contributed to unprecedented economic growth in the years since World War II. Special agreements between countries and government aid to exporters can cause slower growth—or even recession—in the world economy.

OUTLOOK

Although world leaders have produced free-trade agreements in recent years, large trade deficits and continued layoffs in some American industries have caused many people to believe that free trade has not helped the United States. Some U.S. industries have lost profits to foreign companies and have increased pressure on the government to enact tariffs and quotas against foreign competitors. The Clinton administration believes enacting trade barriers would hurt the U.S. and global economies. The U.S. government has tried to increase exports and reduce the trade deficit by negotiating trade agreements with other major nations. However, some Americans believe that stronger measures are needed to make the United States more competitive. Eventually the long-term effects of NAFTA, GATT, and other trade agreements may answer questions about whether expanding free trade will benefit the U.S. economy.

THE DEBATE: INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Free Trade Will Cause a Loss in the Number of U.S. Jobs.

PRO: Free trade agreements encourage U.S. businesses to move their factories to less-developed countries where labor is inexpensive. Therefore, such policies reduce the number of American jobs, especially those in low-technology manufacturing. The federal government cannot afford to support or retrain low-skilled, unemployed workers. Therefore, free trade will increase the income gap among economic classes, creating social unrest as well as financial peril.

CON: Free trade creates more markets for U.S. exports, thereby increasing the number and quality of American jobs. Since NAFTA was enacted, thousands of new jobs have been created from expanded trade in the region. Job growth will increase even more with the implementation of GATT and future agreements with Pacific Basin and Western Hemisphere nations. In addition, expanding free trade improves U.S. foreign relations and reinforces economic reforms overseas.

The United States Should Do More to Reduce the Trade Deficit with China.

PRO: To remain competitive in the world marketplace, the United States must be able to do business in China without interference from the Chinese government. The Chinese have been unwilling to reform their trading practices, ignoring U.S. demands for reform. Erecting trade barriers against Chinese goods or revoking China's MFN status would show that the United States is serious about reducing the trade imbalance and protecting worldwide free trade.

CON: If the United States imposed free-trade barriers, China and perhaps other countries would retaliate with barriers of their own against American products, leading to U.S. job losses and recession. Only free trade promises prosperity for the U.S. economy. Tariffs on Chinese goods could also mean higher prices for American consumers. Retaliation by the United States could also damage the fragile negotiations to improve human rights conditions in China.

The U.S. Government Should Try to Manage Trade.

PRO: Foreign governments subsidize exports and block American imports. The U.S. government should counter these policies with similar intervention. The government should provide subsidies, finance research, and allow competing companies to cooperate in developing new technologies. The government can also help U.S. industries by negotiating trade agreements with other countries.

CON: Managed trade is merely protectionism by another name. Agreements with other nations to restrict exports would raise the prices of restricted goods for U.S. consumers. If the government were to support industries that later turned out to be unprofitable because they still could not compete in the world market, it would have wasted its money and done nothing to reduce the trade deficit.

WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

Ever since the United States developed the first atomic weapons in the 1940s, many other nations have sought nuclear arms and the power these weapons represent. However, during the 1970s and 1980s, the proliferation (spread) of nuclear weapons alarmed the global community. The proliferation of nuclear weapons is both dangerous and destabilizing. Nevertheless, some nations continue their quest for "the bomb"; the technology to build nuclear weapons is still available, and many countries have the ability to make them or to help others do so. Therefore, international agreements—and the organizations that ensure compliance with such treaties—are important in controlling nuclear proliferation.

In the 1960s, the United States spearheaded the nuclear nonproliferation movement by rallying support for the United Nations Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the cornerstone of global antiproliferation efforts. The antiproliferation campaign scored a major success in 1996 when United Nations members, including the United States, approved a new treaty to ban all testing of nuclear weapons.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Are current nuclear safeguards adequate?
- Should the United States stop selling nuclear materials and technology?
- Should the United States limit its sales of conventional weapons?

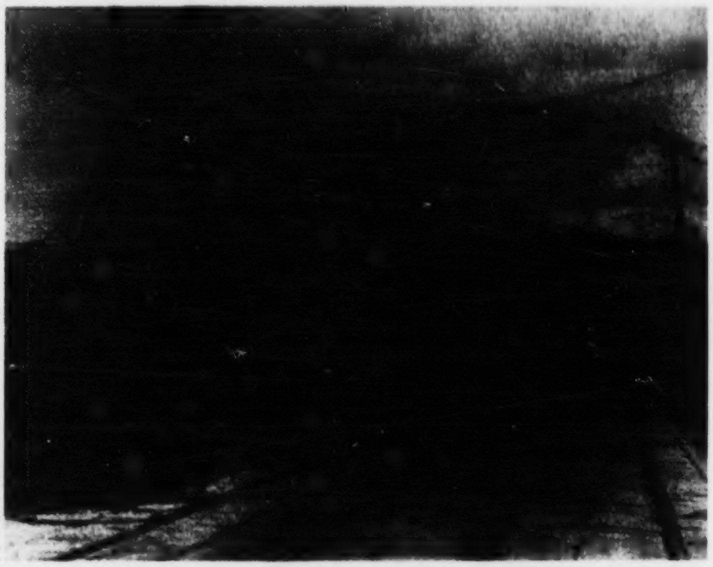
Recently, however, antiproliferation efforts have also targeted conventional arms, because nations in volatile regions are buying large amounts of sophisticated conventional weaponry. Most experts believe that the spread of conventional armaments and the development of nuclear weapons are major threats to global stability. They look to the United States to help lead antiproliferation efforts around the world.

BACKGROUND

The Spread of Nuclear Weapons

The Atomic Bomb and the United States. In August 1945, the United States dropped atomic (nuclear) bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan. The attacks led to Japan's surrender and the end of World War II.

The world had witnessed the awesome power of nuclear technology. Soon after the war, the United States, in the Baruch Plan, proposed to the United Nations that all nuclear technology and materials be controlled by an international agency. The Soviet Union, however, vetoed this proposal and argued for a more immediate destruction of all existing nuclear bombs. The Soviets wanted to exploit their advantages in conventional arms and troop size by eliminating all nuclear weapons. Because world leaders could reach no agreement on international control of nuclear weapons, Soviet leaders decided to continue their research on building nuclear devices. U.S. hopes of a nuclear monopoly were shattered when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic device in 1949. Great Britain followed suit in 1952.



National Archives

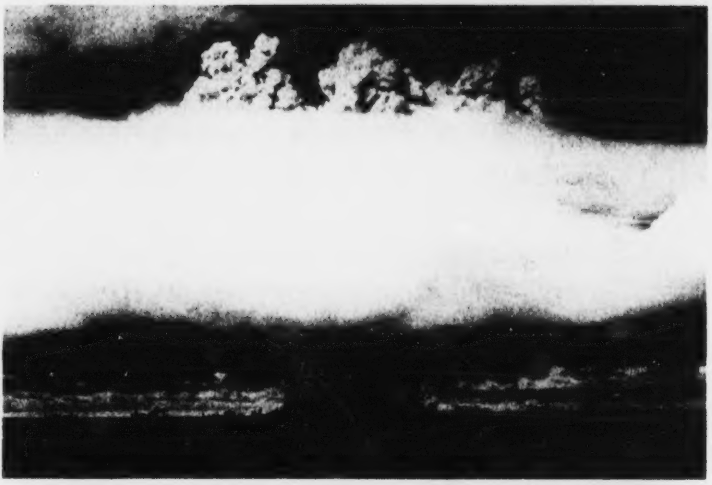
In 1945, two U.S. atomic bombs leveled the cities of Hiroshima (shown here) and Nagasaki, Japan. The awesome power of nuclear weapons prompted many nations to try to build or buy nuclear arms.

An Expanding Nuclear Club. In the early 1960s, both France and China detonated atomic bombs, adding to the number of members in the "nuclear club." The three original nuclear powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain—worried that even more nations would develop the bomb. They rationalized that, as one nation in a particular region went nuclear, its neighbors or rivals would also want similar weapons to avoid or defend against attack, thus increasing the risk of nuclear warfare or accidents. Many nonnuclear countries resented this assumption, contending that they would be just as careful in their use of nuclear weapons as the original members of the nuclear club.

Nonproliferation Treaties. As more nations gained nuclear weapons in the 1960s, the possibility of nuclear confrontation grew. The United States and other nuclear powers began a campaign to persuade nonnuclear countries from attempting to acquire nuclear capability.

UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The 1968 UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was designed to halt the spread of nuclear weapons and promote peaceful uses of nuclear power. It granted all nonnuclear signatories (signers) access to peaceful nuclear technology from participating nuclear powers. The nonnuclear countries had to promise that they would not use the technology to make weapons. The United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain signed the treaty, thereby agreeing that they would not help others build nuclear bombs and that they would reduce their nuclear arsenals. In 1995, UN members decided that the treaty should be extended indefinitely. However, India, Israel, and Pakistan—nations suspected of having developed nuclear weapons—have not signed the treaty.

The Limited Test Ban Treaty. From the 1940s through the 1960s, the five nuclear powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China, and France—conducted explosive tests to develop nuclear weapons and to increase their bombs' power. Con-



U.S. Department of Energy

During the Cold War, members of the nuclear club conducted tests of their nuclear weapons, which led to the development of larger, more powerful weapons.

cerned about environmental damage, leaders from these countries signed a treaty to limit the testing of nuclear weapons in 1963. The Limited Test Ban Treaty made it illegal to test nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. After the Limited Test Ban Treaty went into effect, exploding nuclear weapons underground remained legal. However, by the early 1990s, many world leaders, particularly those from nonnuclear countries, wanted all nuclear blasts to cease. In particular, they wanted to slow improvements in nuclear weapon technology by existing nuclear powers. Several nuclear powers supported a test ban because they hoped it would stop other countries from developing and using "the bomb." Finally, in 1996, more than fifty members of the United Nations signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, making illegal all forms of nuclear explosions.

Future Nuclear Nations. Most specialists believe that the five declared nuclear nations are not the only nations with nuclear weapons. India, Iran, Israel, Libya, North Korea, Pakistan, and others may have nuclear weapons already or may be attempting to make them.

The United States, China, France, and Germany have supplied some countries with the knowledge, technology, and materials to construct nuclear reactors

ENFORCING THE NEW NUCLEAR TEST BAN

While the new Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is being ratified by each signatory, scientists are devising ways to verify when an illegal nuclear test has taken place. By using satellites and seismic techniques, inspectors will be able to detect nuclear blasts underground. By the time the treaty goes into effect, officials hope to have a complete monitoring network of seismic stations connected by online computers.

for generating electricity. However, the materials and technology sold for peaceful purposes can be used to develop nuclear weapons. Although most nuclear transfers take place under internationally approved safeguards, it is possible for a determined country to develop nuclear bombs without being detected by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), an agency of the United Nations.

For example, in the early 1990s, North Korea's alleged attempts to develop nuclear weapons made world headlines. As a signer of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, North Korea was required to allow inspections of its suspicious nuclear facilities. However, North Korean officials refused to allow IAEA inspections and threatened to withdraw from the nonproliferation treaty. In October 1994, U.S. officials struck a deal with North Korean leaders. The United States agreed to help build nuclear power plants in North Korea. In exchange, North Korea agreed to allow inspections of its suspicious nuclear sites at a later time. However, tensions between North and South Korea escalated in 1996, jeopardizing implementation of the agreement.

Nuclear Weapons from the Former Soviet Union. Many Americans feared that the breakup of the Soviet Union into independent states would produce a nuclear "marketplace." A large number of long-range nuclear weapons were scattered across four former Soviet republics—Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. U.S. officials were concerned that unfriendly nations might bid for these weapons and technology.

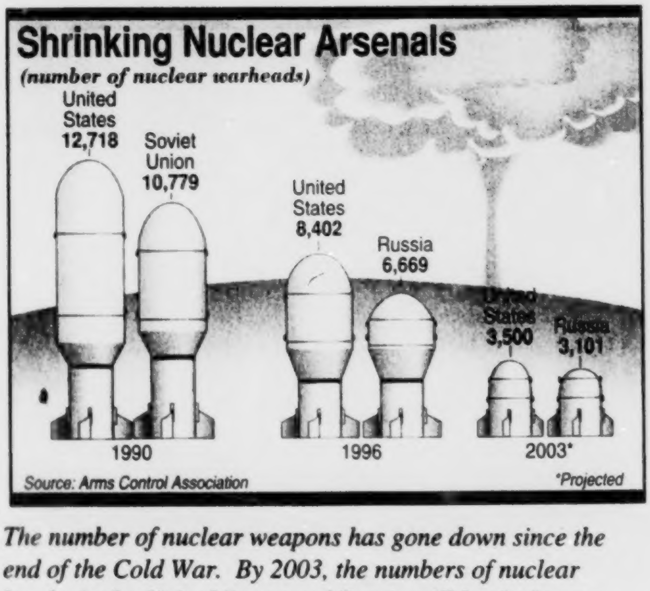
In January 1993, U.S. and Russian leaders signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks Treaty II (START II), which calls for each country to reduce its nuclear arsenal by more than one-third. Belarus and Kazakhstan agreed to return their nuclear weapons to Russia, and Ukrainian leaders agreed to deactivate their nuclear weapons. However, complications remain. As of early

1997, the Russian legislature still had not approved START II. Aside from problems of implementation, many worry that arms control accords such as these may not prevent unemployed nuclear scientists from the former Soviet Union from selling their expertise to aggressive nations.

Conventional Weapons

The Global Marketplace. During the Cold War, the arms control emphasis was on nuclear weapons. However, many experts believe the dramatic spread of conventional weapons is destabilizing volatile regions of the world. They are now calling for a halt on weapons exports by the United States. The proliferation of conventional armaments has contributed to regional tensions and civil wars in the Middle East, Africa, parts of eastern Europe, and Asia.

Arms purchases are soaring in Asia. For instance, China, Japan, and North Korea are improving their missile systems, so other countries in the region are building up their arsenals in response. Historic rivalries, such as that between India and Pakistan, also fuel arms races. Pakistan, a developing country, spends more than 25 percent of its annual budget on defense.



The number of nuclear weapons has gone down since the end of the Cold War. By 2003, the numbers of nuclear bombs in the United States and Russia will be the lowest since the arms race began. Nevertheless, some experts say that by keeping even 3,500 bombs, each country will still have enough to destroy one another.

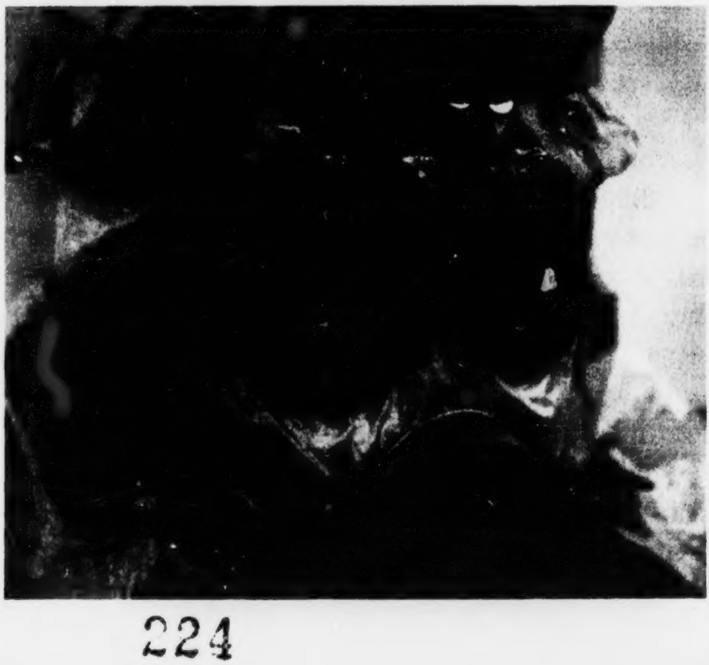
Middle Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, and Israel are among the world's top arms-importing nations. In addition, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency believes that Iran may have chemical and biological weapons—which can be as deadly as nuclear weapons. The escalation of conventional arms levels in the Middle East and Asia could bring about regional warfare, which could lead to U.S. intervention.

The Major Powers as Arms Dealers. Most arms-exporting countries agree that the spread of weapons in unstable regions of the world is a threat to peace. However, reducing arms sales has been difficult because many of these nations, including the United States, depend on the development and export of weapons to help their economies. In most cases, the profits gained by selling conventional weapons are too great for arms-selling countries to ignore.

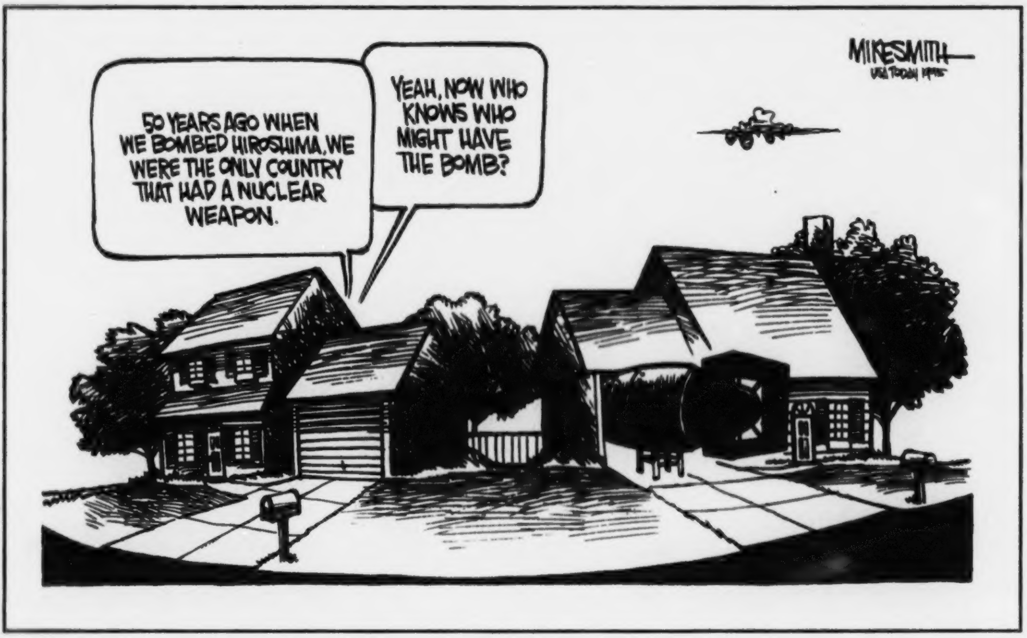
The five nations of the United Nations Security Council—China, France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States—are the world's top arms exporters. They account for 90 percent of all arms transfers.

In the United States, the end of the Cold War reduced the domestic demand for high-tech weaponry, resulting in the loss of thousands of jobs. In the early 1990s, the U.S. government encouraged defense contractors to sell their hardware overseas to protect against further defense industry layoffs. Russia decreased its sales of weapons during this period, so the United States could sell to more

The Department of Defense estimates that as many as 5,000 U.S. troops involved in the Persian Gulf War may have been exposed to nerve gas during the destruction of the Iraqi chemical weapons arsenal. This incident fueled support for a worldwide chemical arms ban, which the United States signed in 1993.



U.S. Department of the Army


50 YEARS AGO WHEN WE BOMBED HIROSHIMA, WE WERE THE ONLY COUNTRY THAT HAD A NUCLEAR WEAPON.
YEAH, NOW WHO KNOWS WHO MIGHT HAVE THE BOMB?
MIKESMITH USA TODAY 1995

Mike Smith, The Las Vegas Sun

foreign arms purchasers. However, because overall world arms purchases during the same period dropped about 70 percent, the American defense industry lost billions of dollars.

CURRENT ISSUES

How Effective Are Current Nuclear Safeguards? Many experts think that nuclear proliferation can be controlled but not stopped. They point out that the spread of nuclear weapons has slowed over the past twenty-five years, and that more than 170 nations have signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

An important part of this nuclear slowdown is the willingness of the international community to work together. Concern over the spread of nuclear weapons transcends ideological and political boundaries. By using diplomatic pressure and threats of trade sanctions and cutting off future nuclear cooperation, nations that supply peaceful nuclear technology have discouraged other countries from developing nuclear weapons.

Some authorities, however, believe that international unity on controlling nuclear proliferation is impossible.

They point to disagreements over solutions to the problem and ineffective enforcement of international safeguards. They say that some governments will always want to develop nuclear weapons and that others will always be willing to provide the tools. As a result, the spread of nuclear weapons may soon increase.

Restricting Sales of Nuclear Technology. Some American leaders have suggested that the United States set an example for the world by sharply restricting its own sales of nuclear technology. They convinced Congress to pass the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978, which denies nuclear technology to countries that the United States suspects of developing nuclear weapons.

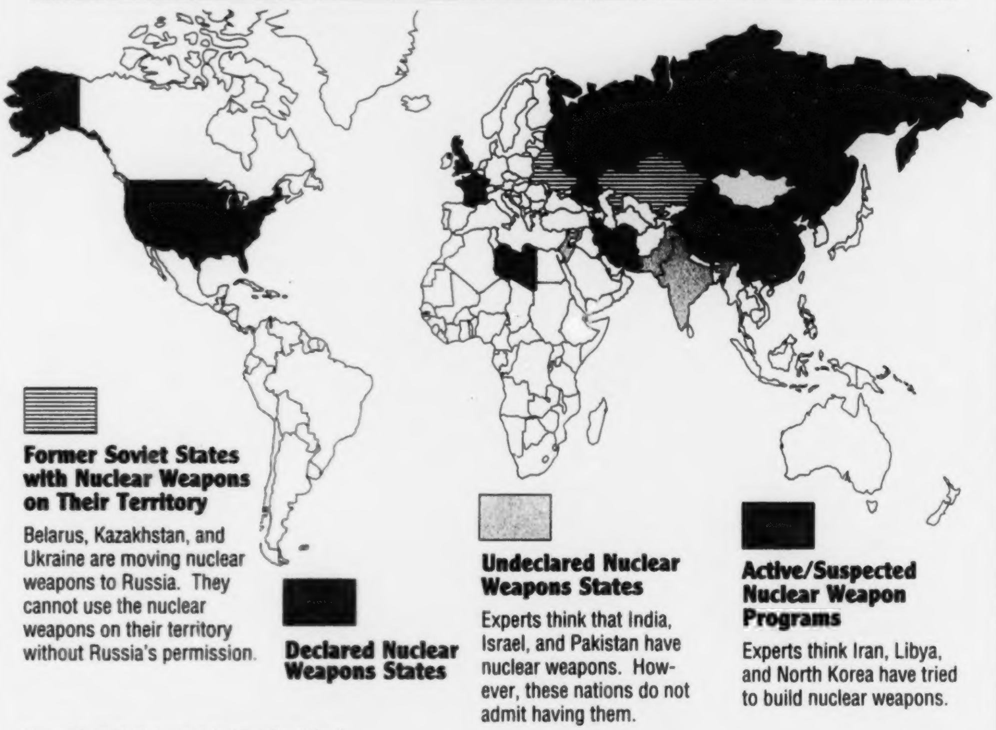
Opponents of this approach argue that overly strict U.S. restrictions are ineffective because nations can easily find nuclear fuel and technical know-how elsewhere. They say that the United States should not deny nuclear technology to "nonrisk" nations—nations that are not seeking nuclear weapons. They argue that the United States can better control the spread of nuclear weapons by being a predictable supplier of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

Selling Conventional Arms. In 1996, the Presidential Advisory Board on Arms Proliferation Policy reported

IS STAR WARS BACK?

Many members of Congress support the development of a missile defense system to protect the United States, similar to President Ronald Reagan's "Star Wars" plan of the 1980s. Proponents think that such a system is necessary because of the risk of an accidental missile launch in Russia. Moreover, officials think Pakistan, Iraq, and North Korea are developing missiles. Critics, however, contend that such a defense system undermines the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which limits strategic missile defense systems in the United States and Russia. Opponents also fear that such plans may jeopardize other treaties reliant on the ABM treaty, including START I and II.

Global Spread of Nuclear Weapons



▤ **Former Soviet States with Nuclear Weapons on Their Territory**

Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine are moving nuclear weapons to Russia. They cannot use the nuclear weapons on their territory without Russia's permission.

■ **Declared Nuclear Weapons States**

▨ **Undeclared Nuclear Weapons States**

Experts think that India, Israel, and Pakistan have nuclear weapons. However, these nations do not admit having them.

■ **Active/Suspected Nuclear Weapon Programs**

Experts think Iran, Libya, and North Korea have tried to build nuclear weapons.

Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

In addition to the countries shown above, many other nations have the technology but not the desire to build nuclear weapons. They include Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Slovakia, South Korea, and Spain. Other nations had nuclear weapons programs in the 1980s but have since renounced such activities. They include Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Iraq, Romania, and South Africa.

that U.S. military forces have confronted foes in Somalia, Haiti, Panama, and Iraq armed with weapons sold by American companies. As a result of this "boomerang effect" of weapons trade, the report recommended tighter regulation of conventional arms sales by the United States. That same year, legislation was introduced that would give Congress new powers to approve or block weapons deals with foreign governments. Under this proposal, Congress could only approve sales of arms to countries that meet four criteria for a "code of conduct"—support for democracy, respect for human rights, participation in the United Nations' arms sale registry, and abstinence from illegal acts of aggression.

Supporters of such restrictions say that U.S.–built weapons should not be sold to nations that are a threat to American security. Moreover, they argue that unrestricted U.S. arms sales feed instability and violence in other countries. Between 1990 and 1994, 85 percent of U.S. foreign arms sales went to nondemocratic governments. Proponents think that the United States should sell weapons responsibly and set a standard for other arms-dealing countries.

However, critics counter that selling some countries sophisticated conventional arms deters those nations from seeking nuclear weapons. In addition, opponents of restricting arms exports believe that the United States has an economic incentive to sell conventional weapons. The development and manufacture of sophisticated military hardware accounts for thousands of jobs in the United States. Critics also point out that through weapons sales, the United States maintains positive relations with some countries, thus retaining some leverage over their actions.

OUTLOOK

Although the United States and Russia have agreed to reduce their nuclear stockpiles, carrying out the START II agreement has been slow and uncertain. Meanwhile, many observers think that atomic weapons are still in high demand in some parts of the world. These issues highlight the importance of implementing strict controls to curb the illegal sale of nuclear know-how. Before the new treaty to ban nuclear testing goes into effect, scientists and policymakers must come up with new ways to detect illegal blasts and punish the violating countries. In addition, lawmakers must balance the economic benefits of selling conventional weapons overseas with the military costs of quelling foreign conflicts. The U.S. government's policies on these issues today will be a major factor in determining the extent of global weapons proliferation in the twenty-first century. Indeed, those policies may well determine the safety of the planet itself.

THE DEBATE: WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

Current Nuclear Safeguards Are Adequate.

PRO: Various safeguards have been effective in slowing the spread of nuclear weapons. Diplomatic pressure, trade sanctions, and the threat of cutting off future nuclear cooperation have made many nations think twice about developing nuclear weapons. This safeguard system, established by the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, is widely accepted and followed by most of the world's governments.

CON: Current safeguards are not adequate. Some countries are building nuclear weapons anyway, proving that there is no foolproof way to prevent governments with peaceful nuclear reactors from also using that technology to build bombs. Some world leaders have refused to allow inspections of their facilities, and others continue to supply nonnuclear nations with nuclear technology and materials.

The United States Should Stop Selling Nuclear Materials and Technology.

PRO: The next country to use the atomic bomb will be a country that has built a bomb from materials provided by nations in the nuclear club. Even if the United States continues selling weapons-related materials to countries it considers "safe," a buyer might sell that material to another nation that wants to build nuclear bombs. A ban on the sale of U.S. nuclear technology and materials would limit world supplies and set an example for other nuclear exporters.

CON: Halting U.S. sales of weapons-related materials and technology would only work if the United States were the sole supplier. Twenty-five years ago, the United States might have had such a monopoly, but today, China, France, Japan, Germany, and other countries are both able and willing to export nuclear materials and technology. Without the support of other countries, a U.S. ban would only result in lost business for the American nuclear industry.

The United States Should Limit Its Sales of Conventional Weapons.

PRO: The United States continues to export arms to volatile world regions, promoting armed conflict in the Middle East and Asia. Unless the sale of these weapons is cut dramatically, the U.S. military will likely be pulled into more regional conflicts in which both sides are using U.S.-made weapons. The United States should not sell arms to countries that do not meet a "code of conduct" criteria.

CON: The United States will lose economically and strategically if it reduces its exports of conventional weapons. Many Americans would lose their jobs, adding to the number of unemployed workers in defense industries. Restricting arms sales could contribute to the insecurity of many countries, causing them to resume their attempts to obtain nuclear weapons. Arms exports also give the United States political leverage.

WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

Although nations around the world have made significant advances in agriculture and medicine over the years, more than a billion people, one-fifth of the world's population, still live in poverty. They suffer from hunger and disease; many are illiterate. Analysts estimate that several thousand children die each day of starvation and preventable diseases. The income gap between the world's wealthiest people and its poorest has widened in recent years. Moreover, the world's population is predicted to swell from more than 5 billion today to more than 9 billion by 2030, further taxing Earth's resources and worsening world poverty.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Is foreign aid in the U.S. national interest?
- Should USAID be abolished?
- Should the United States promote family planning to curb population growth?

Every year, the United States and other industrialized nations send money and other forms of aid to countries struggling to feed their people and provide basic services. But in recent years, foreign aid programs have come under fire. Critics contend that these programs are ineffective and have made recipient governments too dependent on foreign economic assistance. Some also say that the money would be better spent on domestic programs or deficit reduction in the United States. Yet others argue that the United States, which spends less than 1 percent of its annual federal budget on foreign aid, has a moral responsibility to help people in need. In addition, the United States may reap long-term benefits when recipient countries become stable democracies and economic trading partners.

BACKGROUND

North vs. South

The Terms of Poverty. During the Cold War, nations usually aligned themselves either with the Western democratic countries—the United States and western Europe—or with the Eastern communist bloc—the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. When East-West tensions largely disappeared after the breakup of the Soviet empire in 1991, the relationship between rich and poor countries began to play a more prominent role in international politics. Countries with advanced, industrialized economies clearly had a much higher standard of living than the less developed countries trying to improve their economies and societies. Leaders of less developed nations point to this unequal distribution of the world's wealth when they ask for more assistance. The tension between these two groups of countries is often called the North-South conflict, because richer, developed countries are located predominantly in the Northern Hemisphere, while poorer, less developed countries generally are located near or south of the equator in Africa, Asia, and South America.

The Pattern of Poverty. Nearly 1.3 billion people in developing countries live in conditions unimaginable to most Americans. In developing countries, farming is still done with the most basic tools and techniques, and there is little industry. Health and sanitation standards are low, leading to rampant disease, a high rate of infant mortality, and a short life expectancy. Most roads are unpaved and few villages have plumbing or electricity. More than 900 million adults in the developing world cannot read or write. In most of these countries, land and income are unequally distributed. The average yearly income in the poorest countries is equivalent to less than $200, while only a small percentage of people there enjoy great wealth.

The number of poverty-stricken people is growing. Experts predict the world's population will surpass

Population growth spurs development on land that was once reserved for agriculture. In China, farmers brought in a record harvest of 480 million tons of grain in 1995, yet experts predict that by 2025 the nation will need more than 640 million tons annually to feed its growing population.

U.N. Photo 156178/John Isaac

9 billion by 2030, with the highest growth rates in the less developed nations. Two-thirds of the world's impoverished people are less than 15 years old. While women in developed countries have, on average, two children during their lifetimes, women in some less developed regions average more than six children.

Rapid population growth places a burden on a nation's economic and natural resources. Many advocates for helping people in need around the world recommend making birth control and family planning techniques widely available to couples in developing countries. The birth rate is generally lower in countries where the population achieves higher levels of education. Thus, many developing countries are trying to improve literacy rates and general education.

World Hunger. Hunger is a major problem in developing countries. Despite advances in agricultural technology and years of international aid programs, 800 million people woridwide do not get enough to eat each day. Nowhere are hunger problems like these more evident than in sub-Saharan Africa. For example, recent tribal warfare in Zaire and Rwanda has caused thousands to flee their homelands and created widespread famine.

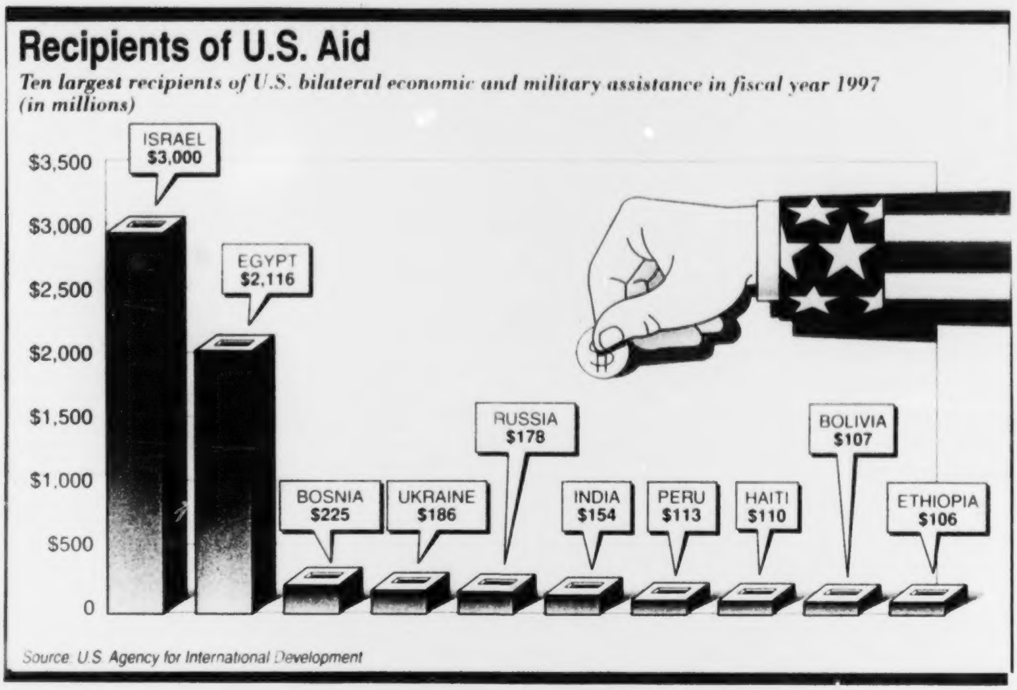
Although grain production worldwide has increased in recent years, rising prices have made much of this food inaccessible to the world's poorest people. Rapid population growth has also caused food shortages. In China, for example, land previously used for farming has been transformed into cities and towns, leaving many without a reliable and nearby source of food.

In November 1996, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization held a World Food Summit in Rome to discuss strategies for combating hunger in the next century. Items on the agenda included developing more family planning programs, promoting more efficient farming methods, and sponsoring larger international assistance programs. Despite these new and ongoing efforts, experts estimate that approximately 40,000 children die each day from sickness and malnutrition.

U.S. Foreign Aid. American leaders have often acted on the belief that giving aid to other nations in need is not only a good humanitarian effort, but often is in the national interest of the United States. For example, after

U.N. Photo

Recent statistics indicate that the global income gap is getting worse. The richest 20 percent of the population controls nearly 80 percent of the world's wealth. Meanwhile, more than half the world's people have incomes of less than $2 a day and live in deplorable conditions like these in Brazil.



Recipients of U.S. Aid

Ten largest recipients of U.S. bilateral economic and military assistance in fiscal year 1997 (in millions)

Source: U.S. Agency for International Development

Many Americans believe that the United States is too generous with foreign aid.

World War II, the United States mounted one of the largest relief efforts ever to help devastated European nations recover from the war. This program, called the Marshall Plan, helped restart the world's economy and boost the health of potential U.S. allies. Officials believed the relief program would help combat the "real enemies" of democracy: "hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

The United States currently commits less than 1 percent of its annual federal budget to foreign aid each year—about $15 billion in 1996. However, some members of Congress want to eliminate foreign aid because they believe it is ineffective and that the funds would be better spent on programs at home.

U.S. aid is mostly bilateral (two-sided)—it goes directly from the United States to another country. For the least developed countries, U.S. aid provides basic humanitarian support to feed the hungry and treat the sick. Aid can also help raise the standard of living and enable developing countries to buy more American products. Bilateral aid is also used for security purposes.

Development and Humanitarian Assistance. The U.S. government provides development and humanitarian assistance to developing countries to build roads, hospitals, schools, and power plants. For people in many of these countries, U.S. aid may make a difference between life and death by providing them with food and medical care. The funds are channeled through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which oversees a variety of programs. For instance, USAID sponsors agriculture, rural development, and nutrition programs, which help increase crop production in other countries. In 1995, some members of Congress proposed that funding for USAID be reduced, while others argued that the agency helps prevent unrest in developing nations and should be spared.

Security Assistance. The United States also provides foreign aid in the form of security assistance. Security assistance is designed to strengthen the armed forces

U.N. Photo 164599/John Isaac

As many Americans call for a decrease in foreign aid, nongovernmental organizations are trying to raise money for the world's needy from private charities, such as the Red Cross, which participated in the relief effort pictured here.

and economies of friendly governments, enabling them to buy American-made weapons, airplanes, and military vehicles and to train soldiers for their national defense.

UNITED STATES FALLS TO FOURTH IN FOREIGN AID DOLLARS

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United States, after decades as the world's top aid donor, fell to fourth in worldwide development assistance in 1995. While some Americans believe that the United States should spend more to help developing nations, others believe that the current federal budget crisis demands that the amount be reduced.

Official Development Assistance 1995 (in billions)

Japan	14.5
France	8.4
Germany	7.5
United States	**7.3**
Netherlands	3.3
United Kingdom	3.2
Canada	2.1
Sweden	2.0
Denmark	1.6
Italy	1.5

Multilateral Aid. The United States also gives money to international aid organizations. These organizations then distribute the funds to poor countries to help them combat specific problems. This type of aid is called multilateral (many-sided) because many nations contribute funds that are then given to a number of different nations. Some of the largest multilateral aid sources are the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program, and the International Monetary Fund. All of these organizations grant aid based on need rather than politics.

CURRENT ISSUES

A National Interest? During the Cold War, the United States had a clear policy goal for its foreign aid programs—stopping the spread of communism. By enabling European countries—and later Asia and Latin America—to stabilize their economies and gradually increase their standard of living, the United States created a favorable climate for democracy. However, since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the necessity of U.S. foreign aid in the post–Cold War world has been a source of controversy.

Supporters of U.S. foreign aid believe that investment abroad is as important to the U.S. national interest as investment at home. They think that the United States has a responsibility to stabilize areas in sub-Saharan Africa, eastern Europe, and Latin America to make them safe for democracy. They believe that every dollar spent on foreign aid now is a dollar that will not have to be spent on U.S. military intervention in the future. In addition, supporters say many developing countries could eventually become lucrative trading partners if the United States invests in their education, infrastructure, and agricultural development.

However, many Americans believe that foreign aid is not as vital to the U.S. national interest as, for example, deficit reduction or education at home. They say that America should take care of its own problems first before it gives money to foreign nations. Opponents also dispute the idea that recipient nations will become loyal allies of the United States. In 1996, a group of African nations, including some who have received U.S. aid, fought U.S. efforts to find a replacement for United Nations' Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali. Incidents like this one have prompted some members of Congress to say that foreign aid is no longer in the U.S. national interest.

Downsizing Foreign Assistance. USAID was established by President John Kennedy in 1961. USAID is an independent government agency that provides economic development and humanitarian assistance to foreign countries to advance U.S. political and economic interests. Recently, many members of Congress have

USAID has come under fire recently from members of Congress who say it is wasteful and should be abolished. Supporters say that the agency has improved the lives of millions of people in the developing world and should be spared. Here USAID Administrator J. Brian Atwood (standing, far right) observes a USAID education program in South Africa.

USAID/Michael Pershouse

criticized USAID and have taken steps to greatly reduce its operations.

Critics of USAID say that the agency wastes money and has failed in many of its objectives. They point to statistics that show that for every U.S. dollar spent on foreign aid, between 70 and 80 cents stays in the United States to pay for the operating and administrative costs of the agency. In addition, some lawmakers contend that USAID has not done enough to ensure that U.S. funds are spent fairly and efficiently in recipient countries. Since USAID uses much of its budget to fund projects administered by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), such as the Red Cross and World Vision, some experts believe that USAID is no longer needed and should be abolished.

Supporters of USAID have defended the agency, citing the success of many of its humanitarian and economic programs around the globe. For example, USAID dehydration prevention and HIV/AIDS education programs have saved thousands of lives in Africa in the last ten years alone. They argue that foreign aid is vital in promoting the U.S. national interest; therefore it cannot be left to the responsibility of NGOs and private charities. Officials at USAID also say that they have taken drastic measures in recent years—including the closing of twenty-three USAID missions worldwide and the reduction of its workforce by one-third—

AFRICA'S ORPHANS

Bloody tribal conflicts, famine, and the AIDS epidemic have created a generation of orphans in Africa. In Uganda alone, AIDS has left nearly 500,000 children without parents. In the past, grandparents or extended family members cared for orphaned children, but many families have been separated, as some fill refugee camps and others move to the cities in search of work or food. Charitable organizations such as Save the Children and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) have attempted to house and feed the orphans, but many are still hungry and homeless.

to comply with cuts in congressional funding. Additional reductions, they say, would mean thousands of people in the developing world will go without humanitarian assistance, compromising both the reputation of the United States and its national interests abroad.

The Population Explosion. Many experts see the world's growing population as a major cause of poverty in developing countries. They say that the more than 9 billion people who will live in the world in 2030 will place an added strain on the soil, water, and other resources that are key to human survival. In addition, poverty and population growth are linked; more than 90 percent of world population growth over the next fifty years will take place in developing countries.

Many economists say stabilizing population growth should be a top international priority because it has tremendous implications for the economic, political, and environmental welfare of the world. These experts support increased access to birth control information and contraceptives for women in the developing world. They believe that women with family planning options will choose to have fewer children, thus improving their chances for a more economically sound future.

Some U.S. policymakers think that giving funds to global organizations that might recommend abortion as an option is morally wrong. Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush suspended U.S. support of International Planned Parenthood and the United Nations Population Fund because these groups discussed abortion as an option in family planning. Though President Bill Clinton lifted the ban in 1993, supporters of the Reagan and Bush policies continue to oppose using foreign aid to encourage abortions. They say promoting birth control strategies abroad amounts to international intervention in a private family matter and should be stopped.

URBANIZATION OF THE WORLD'S POOR

Forty years ago, barely 300 million people lived in cities. However, because of recent migrations, especially in the developing world, residents of urban areas are expected to top 4 billion by 2025. More people have moved to cities recently because food and work there is more plentiful. This exponential growth has begun to create overcrowded "megacities"—such as Lagos, Nigeria, and Mexico City, Mexico—that are plagued by homelessness, disease, and crime.

OUTLOOK

Over the years, U.S. foreign aid has been used to decrease poverty, promote political stability and democracy, and keep allies strong. Recognizing that the nearly 1.3 billion people living in poverty and amidst environmental decay present a serious problem, the nations of the world are reevaluating their efforts to relieve the struggle of developing countries. The population explosion is straining Earth's food supplies, forests, and oceans. Nearly one-fifth of the world's people still do not have enough food, adequate shelter, and sanitation. Global leaders are now considering ways to improve the lives of the world's people in need and the very health of Earth itself. At a time in the United States when no federal programs are safe from budget cuts, U.S. leaders must decide what kind of foreign aid commitment their country should and can make.

THE DEBATE: WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

Foreign Aid Is in the U.S. National Interest.

PRO: The United States cannot afford to ignore the developing world. Providing economic and development assistance to less developed countries will help make them democratic and allies of the United States. The need for military intervention in the future can be diminished if the United States enables these nations to stabilize their economies, feed their people, and educate their children.

CON: The United States must prioritize its federal spending. Giving money to foreign governments is not as important as attending to domestic issues, such as reducing the federal budget deficit. Foreign aid programs have been ineffective and have not made strong trading partners or military alliances out of recipient nations. The United States cannot afford to come to the aid of every impoverished nation.

The United States Agency for International Development Should Be Abolished.

PRO: USAID should be abolished because it is a wasteful and ineffective government agency. Its programs have only aided corrupt governments that squander U.S. dollars while doing little to eliminate poverty. The federal government should leave the job of aiding developing countries to private organizations.

CON: Because foreign aid is an important component of U.S. foreign policy, the government should continue to fund USAID. The agency has demonstrated its ability to adapt to new budget restraints by streamlining its operations and cutting costs. Private organizations should not bear the entire burden for improving conditions in the developing world.

The United States Should Promote Family Planning To Curb Population Growth.

PRO: World poverty can only be reduced if population growth is brought under control. Millions of couples want information about birth control but cannot get it. The United States should share information with developing countries. Providing family planning information will enable women in developing countries—and their children—to have a better chance to escape poverty.

CON: The United States should not provide any aid that might be used to support abortion. Instead, it should provide the economic support that will help developing countries modernize. Improving the economies of developing nations will encourage their people to have smaller families. Decisions about family size should not be influenced by U.S. governmental policies.

EAST ASIA

East Asia includes the nations in the easternmost part of the Asian continent; the Indochina and Malay Peninsulas; and the island nations of Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Today, East Asia is one of the fastest-growing economic regions in the world. Japan is the leader in many high-tech industries and is the chief economic partner of the United States. Once-isolated China also is producing enormous economic growth rates and an unprecedented increase in the standard of living of its citizens. Even smaller East Asian nations such as Brunei, South Korea, and Vietnam are experiencing dramatic economic gains.

Because of East Asia's economic power, many observers believe that the region is replacing Europe as the primary focus of U.S. foreign policy. American leaders have spoken of Asia's importance to the United States, particularly its potential as a huge market for American products. The United States has had a beneficial economic relationship with Japan for years and is developing more economic ties with other Asian nations, including China.

However, U.S. relations with countries in East Asia are tense on certain issues. For example, the United States has recently addressed several ongoing trade disputes with Japan. In addition, China's human rights violations continue to be a source of conflict with the United States. As U.S. policymakers focus their foreign policy priorities on East Asia, they realize that the region presents new problems requiring new diplomatic and economic solutions.

KEY QUESTIONS

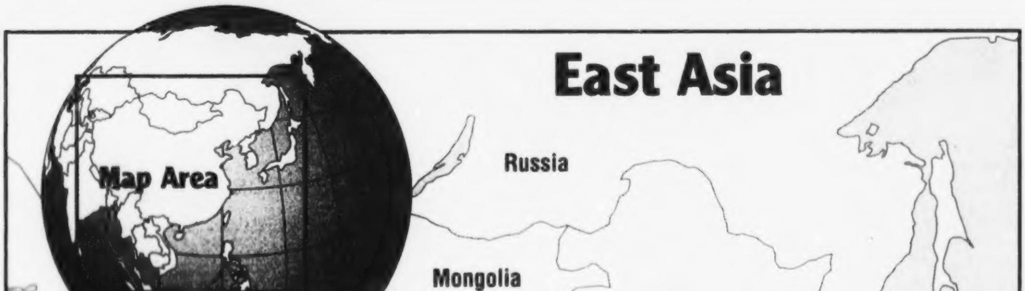
- Should the United States withdraw its troops from Japan?
- Should the United States recognize Taiwan?
- Should the United States promote trade with China?

BACKGROUND

Japan

U.S.–Japan Relations, 1945–52. After U.S. atomic bombs destroyed two Japanese cities in 1945, Japan surrendered to the United States, bringing World War II to an end. Japan was then placed under military occupation, headed by U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur. A new constitution created Japan's first democratic government, with a parliament called the Diet, a prime minister, and a supreme court with the power to review laws. The constitution also demilitarized Japan, denying it the right to raise an army.

In 1952, Japan signed a peace treaty with the United States, ending seven years of U.S. military occupation.


East Asia
Map Area
Russia
Mongolia
North Korea
China
Beijing
Seoul
South Korea
Japan
Tokyo
Nepal
Bhutan
India
Bangladesh
Laos
Hanoi
Myanmar
Taiwan
Pacific Ocean
South China Sea
Philippines
Thailand
Bay of Bengal
Vietnam
Manila
Cambodia
1000 Miles

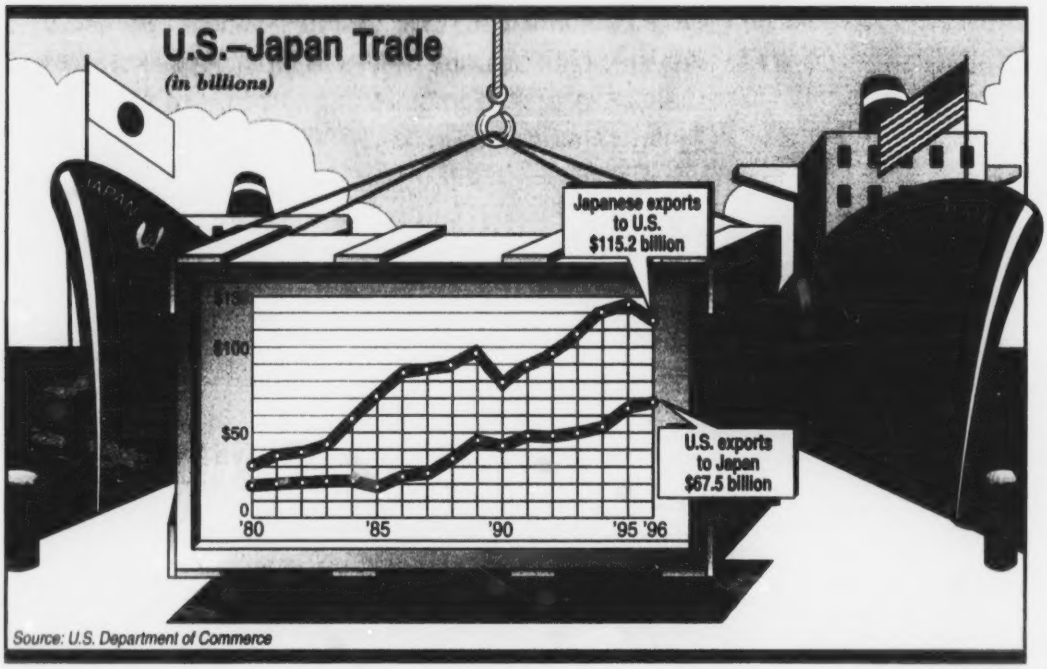
Japanese leaders also signed the Mutual Security Treaty, which provided that the United States would defend Japan in case of attack. In exchange, the United States could maintain military bases on Japanese soil. Today the United States has about 45,000 troops in Japan.

Japan's Economic Miracle. After World War II, Japanese industrialists found that, because of their wartime focus on military equipment, they were ten years behind the latest advances in technology and production. Japan built its postwar industries with the help of American aid, introduced new management techniques, and erected trade barriers to protect new industries.

Japan's government helped Japanese companies grow by supporting potentially prosperous industries with grants for research and development and by allowing competing companies to work together to develop new technologies and products. The government's efforts were matched by Japan's well-educated workers, who were able to adopt, and often improve, foreign technology. As a result of government and industry efforts, Japan's productivity rate grew faster than the United States' productivity rate. By the 1960s, industries in Japan were turning out high-quality consumer goods, such as clothing, radios, televisions, cameras, and

World War II ended on September, 2, 1945, when Japanese officials surrendered to the United States. On August 15, 1995, in celebrations marking the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II, Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama officially apologized for the "damage and suffering" Japan's World War II aggressions had caused.

National Archives



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

Every year since 1965, Japan has exported more goods to the United States than the United States has exported to Japan. Japan exports manufactured goods such as cars, machines, and telecommunications equipment to the United States. Americans ship raw materials such as metal, coal, lumber, and food to Japan.

automobiles, and exporting them to the United States and other nations.

U.S.–Japan Trade. Trade is essential to Japan's economy. Because this island country has few natural resources, it must import most of the raw materials it needs for manufacturing. To pay for these imports, Japan must sell finished goods to other nations. In the 1960s, the United States became Japan's biggest customer. By 1965, Japan was selling more products to than it was buying from the United States, creating a trade deficit for the United States that continues today.

For thirty years, the trade deficit between the United States and Japan has caused conflicts between the two countries. During that time span, officials from both governments have negotiated several agreements to increase U.S. exports and reduce Japanese exports in an effort to close the gap. Recent accomplishments include a 1995 agreement to help increase the sales of

U.S. cars and car parts in Japan and a 1996 deal to enhance U.S. insurance sales in Japan's market. Nevertheless, in 1996, Japan's trade surplus with the United States remained large, at $47.7 billion.

China

Communism and the Great Leap Forward. Following World War II, two political parties in China—the Nationalist Party, led by Chiang Kaishek, and the Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong—fought for control of the country. In 1949, the long struggle ended with a victory by the Communist Party; Mao renamed the country the People's Republic of China (PRC). Meanwhile, Chiang took his Nationalist government to the island of Formosa, later renamed Taiwan.

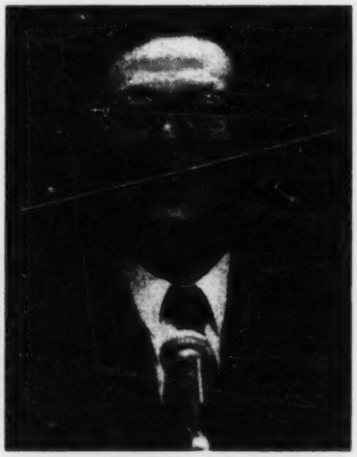
Among Mao's goals was the elimination of poverty and inequality among the masses by redistributing food, land, and other resources. The first ten years of communist rule produced some economic achievements but fell far short of meeting the needs of the Chinese people. In 1958, Mao announced a new economic program, known as the Great Leap Forward, intended to modernize his country's agriculture and industry. The program was a disaster. It not only failed to reach its economic goals, but also led to unrest among the people, the imprisonment and execution of dissidents, and China's isolation from the rest of the world.

Changing Leaders and Economic Policy. After Mao died in 1976, Deng Xiaoping eventually emerged as China's leader following a long and bitter power struggle. Although the overall structure and principles of communism remained intact under Deng, he and his supporters radically altered Chinese economic policy. They initiated an "open door" policy with the West to increase trade and attract foreign investors to China. To modernize agriculture and industry, Deng experimented with capitalist concepts such as private property and free-market competition.

China's move toward capitalism continues today. As a result of Deng's reforms, China's economy has grown at an annual rate of 9 percent since the early 1980s. By early next century, China will become one of the top dozen exporters in the world. Although Japan remains a dominant economic force in East Asia, China has the fastest-growing economy in the region, if not the world.

China's New Generation of Leaders. In 1987, Deng Xiaoping announced he was retiring as leader of the Chinese Communist Party. But before his retirement, he forced nearly all of the aging communist revolutionaries to step down as well. This massive "housecleaning" placed the country in the hands of a younger generation of leaders who are likely to continue China's economic development and reforms.

In February 1997, the 92-year-old Deng died. Experts are unsure who will emerge as China's new leader. However, some analysts think that political power in China might have to be shared among more people in future. President Jiang Zemin, who was appointed Deng's successor in 1989, has agreed to share power in the central government and has allowed local governments to make more decisions.



Reuters/Win McNamee/Archive Photos

Chinese President Jiang Zemin was appointed Deng Xiaoping's successor in 1989. Because Jiang also heads the Chinese Communist Party and the Central Military Commission, he holds more top posts than did Deng. However, Jiang has less power in the central government than his predecessor.

U.S.–China Relations. Until the 1970s, the relationship between China and the United States was strained. The takeover of the communists in 1949 was a great shock to U.S. leaders, whose foreign policy was dedicated to stopping the spread of communism. The United States refused to recognize the People's Republic of China. Instead, it maintained diplomatic relations with the PRC's rival, the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan. Chinese leaders in the PRC were outspokenly anti-American.

By the 1970s, China had become a world power, and its relations with the neighboring Soviet Union reached a warlike state. President Richard Nixon believed that the United States could take advantage of the conflict between the two communist powers. In 1972, Nixon stunned the world by going to China. Chinese-American relations quickly improved. President Jimmy Carter finally established full diplomatic relations with China in 1979.

During the 1980s, the United States and China continued their constructive but uneasy relationship. As Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms pushed China toward capitalism, Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush made more diplomatic overtures to encourage Deng to adopt political reforms as well.

The Tiananmen Square Uprising. In 1989, more than 100,000 Chinese students and workers staged demonstrations in Beijing, the capital of China, demanding democratic reforms and the removal of Deng from power. The government imposed martial law, but the protesters ignored it. Deng then ordered tanks and armored vehicles to attack the protesters massed in Tiananmen Square. Estimates varied widely, but many reports said that 800 or more people died, and thousands of others were injured. Hundreds were arrested; some were later executed.

The global community condemned the crackdown, saying it was evidence that China remained an oppressive authoritarian state despite its economic progress. President Bush denounced the attack, but he still believed it was in the United States' best interest not to isolate China, but to continue to help it develop economically. Bush agreed to renew China's most favored nation (MFN) trade status. MFN trade status encourages Chinese imports because it grants them reduced tariffs.

Relations between the United States and China faltered between 1993 and 1995 over human rights and trade issues. Some lawmakers argued that the United States should not grant trade privileges to countries that

INDONESIA: A GIANT BRIDGING TWO OCEANS

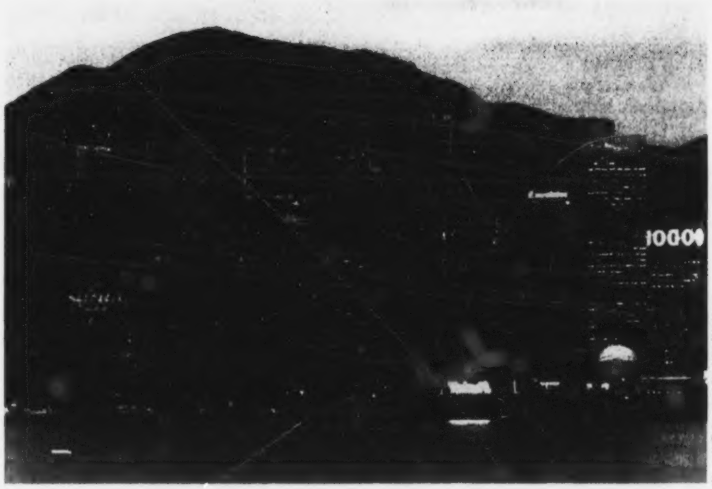
Indonesia is composed of more than ten thousand islands and 200 million people. Since Indonesia's authoritarian president Suharto took control in 1966, the country's economy has grown at an average of 6 percent per year, creating Southeast Asia's biggest economy. American leaders are interested in Indonesia for its potential market for U.S. goods and its strategic location connecting the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

repress and mistreat their citizens. Some U.S. companies—particularly those in the music, film, and computer software industries—accused Chinese companies of illegally copying and selling their products, called piracy. However, after resolving some of those those issues, many policymakers reasoned that China's growing economic strength and world influence warranted more constructive exchanges. In 1996, President Bill Clinton and President Jiang Zemin planned diplomatic summits for 1997 and 1998.

The Taiwan Question. When the Chinese Communist Party won the war in 1949 and the Nationalists fled to the island of Taiwan (then called Formosa), both governments held hopes of one day reuniting. The rivalry had not ended, however: China claimed rights to Taiwan, while the new Republic of China on Taiwan claimed rights to mainland China. This rivalry has created diplomatic problems for the United States for decades.

From 1949 until 1979, the United States recognized Taiwan, because the U.S. government believed that Taiwan, while undemocratic, was a better ally than communist China. However, when relations between the United States and China began to thaw in the 1970s, Chinese leaders insisted that the United States could recognize only "one China." In order to secure diplomatic ties with China, the United States could no longer formally recognize Taiwan.

Since recognizing China in 1979, the United States has walked a fine line in its relations with Taiwan. Although it no longer provides military protection for the island nation, the United States has continued to sell military equipment to Taiwan, a policy that China fervently denounces. In 1987, the Taiwanese government instituted democratic reforms. Based on its strong economy and new democratic system, Taiwan is campaigning for a seat in the United Nations and membership in the World Trade Organization. Taiwan's growing international stature has made China uneasy. Chinese leaders have threatened to use military force if Taiwan declares independence.



On June 30, 1997, Great Britian returned its colony of Hong Kong (shown here) to Chinese control.

Russell Thompson/Archive Photos

Transfer of Power in Hong Kong. During the 1840s, Great Britain colonized Hong Kong, a Chinese island off the southern coast of the mainland. Since then, Hong Kong has become one of the major commercial hubs of Asia. Hong Kong has well-established democratic principles, such as freedoms of the press, speech, and assembly. On June 30, 1997, however, the territories of the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong were returned to China under the terms of a 1984 agreement. Some Hong Kong residents fear that China's leaders will restrict their freedoms and abolish their nation's newly created legislature. On the other hand, some scholars assert that assimilating Hong Kong into an autonomous province of China may also bring notions of democracy and freedom to at least some parts of the mainland.

North and South Korea

The Division of Korea and the Korean War. Japan controlled Korea for fifty years beginning in 1894. After Japan's surrender to the United States ended World War II, Korea was partitioned into two sections: the North (allied with the Soviet Union) and the South (allied with the United States). In 1948, both superpowers withdrew their forces, but no agreement was reached on reunification.

In June 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea. This military action, which was supported by the Soviet Union, was an attempt to unify the two Koreas under communist rule. The United States sent armed forces as part of an allied United Nations "police action" to repel the invasion. After successfully pushing the communist forces back, the allies expanded their war aims by crossing the 38th parallel of latitude (the line that divides North and South Korea). This action brought China into the war on the side of North Korea. The two sides fought to a stalemate and, in July 1953, signed an armistice that established a demilitarized zone between the two Koreas. More than 50,000 U.S. soldiers died in Korea, along with hundreds of thousands of Korean and Chinese troops and Korean civilians. Today, the United States keeps about 37,000 troops on the South Korean side of the demilitarized zone.

After the war, North Korea continued under a communist regime; the South remained under a democratic government until a 1961 military coup established authoritarian rule, which lasted until 1992. In December of that year, South Korea held its first fully democratic elections in more than thirty years. North Korea, a hard-line communist state, was ruled by Kim Il Sung from 1948 until his death in July 1994. Since then, his son, Kim Jong Il, has led the country.

THAILAND'S GROWTH AMID CHAOS

In 1996, the World Bank ranked Thailand the world's fastest-growing economy between 1985 and 1995. This economic growth has been sustained despite turbulence in its government. Making the transition from a military-dominated government to a democracy, Thailand has endured six attempted coups since 1973, and no elected government has spent more than two and a half years in office. Analysts think that Thailand's chaotic politics are a reflection of its unevenly dispersed economic gains. For example, most of its prosperity has centered around its capital, Bangkok, while other areas remain poor. Thus, wealthy urban voters support different candidates than do rural voters.

Reuters/KNS/Archive Photos

After North Korea's "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung died in July 1994, his son, Kim Jong Il (pictured above), became the "Dear Leader." Western experts question the extent of his power and his ability to repair North Korea's shattered economy.

The Isolation of North Korea. Forty years after the Korean War, fear and suspicion between the two Koreas remain. While South Korea has made significant economic and democratic progress, North Korea's economic and social conditions have worsened. In 1991, North Korea's ally, the Soviet Union, broke apart. The following year, China, another important North Korean ally, established diplomatic relations with South Korea, an act that North Korea's leaders viewed as a betrayal. This increased isolation and the nation's continued devotion to communism have contributed to the deterioration of North Korea's economy.

In 1995 and 1996, North Koreans suffered famine and oil shortages. To head off a potentially desperate and aggressive North Korea, U.S. officials proposed that North Korean leaders meet with South Koreans, the first such meeting since the end of the Korean War. In another move toward reconciliation, in February 1997, South Korea shipped food to North Korea to ease its famine.

CURRENT ISSUES

U.S. Military in Japan. Ever since U.S. and Japanese leaders signed the Mutual Security Treaty in 1952, the United States has protected Japan with a large military presence in the region. Of the approximately 45,000 U.S. troops in Japan, about 60 percent are stationed on the small island of Okinawa. In 1995 and 1996, Okinawans protested the large American presence, complaining of crimes committed by the troops and the unfair burden they place on the island. In 1996, U.S. military leaders agreed to return some land occupied by U.S. military bases. However, attempts to relocate those troops in Japan met with great resistance. These events and others have caused some American policymakers to reevaluate the defense policy toward Japan.

Some Americans believe that the United States should close all its military bases in Japan. They point out that the Soviet Union has collapsed and that Japan's security is no longer threatened as it was during the Cold War. Many proponents say that Japan has a strong enough economy and industry to support its own military, while the U.S. government can no longer afford to protect Japan. They point out that Japan has thrived economically—and gained a large trade surplus with the United States—while the U.S. military has spent millions of dollars protecting Japan. Moreover, supporters say that many Japanese citizens resent the U.S. military presence.

However, other Americans believe that maintaining U.S. troops in Asia is important to regional security because it offsets major powers like China and Russia. In addition, they say that a military presence in Japan helps protect shipping lanes that are vital to the U.S. economy. Critics of changing Japan's defense

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米軍基地いらない!
沖縄の土地は
もう基地に使わせない
大田知事がんばれ!
新婦人東京中央支部
を許し

Reuters/M. Hatano/Archive Photos

In 1996, the United States had approximately 45,000 troops on Japanese territory, two-thirds of whom were based on the island of Okinawa. Some Okinawans have long resented the burden of hosting such a large proportion of U.S. forces, as illustrated by the demonstrations shown here.

structure argue that if Japan had to raise a bigger army, its neighbors might stockpile weapons to prevent possible Japanese aggression, escalating an Asian arms race that could lead to nuclear proliferation in the region. Therefore, many U.S. policymakers believe that the United States should retain its military bases in Japan to avoid these potential crises.

Recognizing Taiwan. Taiwan's President Lee Tung-hui is a supporter of Taiwanese independence. When he ran for reelection in 1996, he was bitterly opposed by China. To intimidate Taiwanese voters into voting against Lee, China conducted military exercises, including missile tests, in the Taiwan Strait—the body of water separating the two countries. American battleships were sent to the area to protect Taiwan and reassure its voters. Despite China's efforts, Lee was easily reelected.

Some policymakers have suggested that the United States once again recognize Taiwan, despite China's opposition to the idea. They point out that Taiwan ranks among the ten largest U.S. trading partners and deserves better treatment. Moreover, they argue that Taiwan has progressed toward democracy and improved its human rights record—achievements China has yet to match.

Others contend that the United States cannot afford to let relations with China deteriorate further by recognizing Taiwan. China's market for U.S. goods and services is too profitable to risk losing. Moreover, the PRC might attack Taiwan if the United States were to upgrade relations. Thus, the U.S. government risks provoking a war in what is a very important region to the world economy. Critics of recognizing Taiwan suggest that the United States can help China and Taiwan improve their relations by other, more constructive, measures.

Trade and Human Rights. In the early 1990s, human rights organizations discovered that Chinese prison labor was being used to make goods for export to the United States. In addition, the U.S. State Department

POLITICAL REPRESSION IN BURMA

Burma, now called Myanmar, has one of the worst human rights records in Asia. In 1988, the military government brutally crushed a prodemocracy uprising led by students. In 1989, the government (known as the State Law and Order Restoration Council, or SLORC) placed the leader of the country's democracy movement, Aung San Suu Kyi, winner of the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize, under house arrest for six years. Reports of continued repression prompted the U.S. government to place mild economic sanctions on Myanmar in September 1996. Renewed student protests in late 1996 alarmed SLORC, and it again placed Ms. Suu Kyi under house arrest.

reported that China continued to mistreat political dissidents and practice unfair judicial procedures. Therefore, in 1994, President Bill Clinton threatened to revoke China's MFN status if the country did not improve its human rights record. However, in the end, President Clinton renewed China's MFN status because he said the government had made some human rights progress, and U.S. economic interests in China were too great to ignore.

Human rights groups were critical of President Clinton's decision. They say he gave in to pressure from U.S. companies and undermined America's support for human rights. Human rights advocates believe such decisions will show other countries that they can continue to abuse human rights without fear of U.S. criticism or retaliation, particularly if those countries trade with the United States. Those who want to link trade and human rights assert that severe human rights violations are matters of international concern. They further argue that, as many authoritarian countries in Asia and the Middle East continue to industrialize, trade is the best leverage advanced democracies have to demand that those governments treat their citizens according to international law.

Opponents of this approach counter that the United States must look after its own national interests first. Trade with countries like China is vitally important to the American economy. Critics argue that the United States must first be economically strong if it is to support human rights and democracy around the world. Moreover, they believe that an open trading relationship will give the United States greater leverage in persuading the Chinese government to adopt a more democratic political system. For example, American products, particularly books and films, carry democratic ideas into China. In addition, trade with the United States can indirectly improve human rights in China by helping individuals prosper. As they gain wealth, those citizens will have more power to demand rights from their government. Finally, some critics believe that human rights are domestic matters that do not concern outside nations.

OUTLOOK

The United States faces many obstacles as it redefines its relationship with a region that is of vital economic and strategic interest. Although Japan is an important ally in East Asia, in the long term, some analysts think that China will be a bigger player in the region and will present more difficult issues. Many U.S. policymakers believe that the United States must develop a way to help free-market economic reforms take hold in China, while encouraging the Chinese government to adopt a more democratic political system. Such a policy will entail navigating recurring and sensitive issues such as human rights and trade piracy. As East Asia becomes a more powerful and influential region of the world, American leaders are finding that building relationships and cooperation is challenging in a region that is so culturally different from the United States.

THE DEBATE: EAST ASIA

The United States Should Withdraw Its Troops From Japan.

PRO: Now that the Cold War is over, the Mutual Security Treaty of 1952 is no longer necessary. Japan has the economic resources as well as the political legitimacy to defend itself. Moreover, the United States can no longer afford to protect Japan. Japan's economy has flourished partly because it has not had to pay for its own army, navy, and air force. It is time for Japan to provide its own security.

CON: The United States should maintain its bases in Japan because Japan is still vulnerable to China and Russia, and the region is very important to the U.S. economy and security. Moreover, Japan's neighbors still fear a militarized Japan. Thus, if Japan adds to its defense forces, it could set off a dangerous arms race in the region. A strong U.S. presence is necessary for regional stability and peace.

The United States Should Recognize Taiwan.

PRO: Whether or not it declares independence from the People's Republic of China, Taiwan functions as an independent state. Taiwan ranks among the top ten U.S. trading partners and has one of the strongest economies in East Asia. Taiwanese leaders have been developing a democratic system since 1987, and the country's human rights record has improved. The United States should reward these achievements and recognize Taiwan.

CON: Because Chinese leaders regard the Taiwan issue so seriously, the United States should not get involved. Americans stand to prosper by selling goods and services to mainland China as its economy grows, and the United States cannot afford to have that enormous market closed. Moreover, the United States can play a more constructive role in the region by helping to improve relations between China and Taiwan, not by aggravating them.

The United States Should Promote Trade with China.

PRO: Pressuring the Chinese government to improve its human rights record with trade threats is not in the national interest of the United States. Although China may abuse human rights, it has a growing economy, and U.S. companies want to do business there. Through international trade, Chinese citizens gain not only access to democratic ideas, but also the wealth and power to demand better treatment.

CON: Trading privileges such as MFN status imply that the U.S. government approves of and supports foreign governments. But countries like China that violate human rights do not deserve American support. The United States should use its economic leverage to pressure China to improve its human rights record. Otherwise, it risks encouraging other countries to mistreat their citizens as well.

EUROPE

Many changes have taken place in Europe in the 1990s. The Soviet Union split apart, West and East Germany formed a united Germany, and the fifteen nations that made up the European Community (EC) signed the Maastricht Treaty, the blueprint for a united Europe. European leaders hoped that the new European Union (EU) would produce economic prosperity throughout the continent, including the democracies of eastern Europe. However, Europe has yet to live up to expectations: The EU has only recently begun recovering from a long economic recession, many nations face high unemployment, and the continent must address the aftermath of a long war in the former Yugoslavia.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Is peace in Bosnia a vital U.S. national interest?
- Should NATO be expanded?
- Should the United States continue to defend Europe?

The United States' relationship with Europe has always been important. During the Cold War, the United States protected its European allies from the Soviet Union. In the post–Cold War world, Europe remains a key political and economic partner of the United States. While U.S. and European leaders have reached agreements on trade, they have struggled with some security issues. For example, efforts to expand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to include formerly communist countries in eastern Europe have been met with criticism by those who believe it will jeopardize U.S.–Russian relations. The fragile peace in Bosnia—and the U.S. role in maintaining that peace—has also been a source of debate between the United States and its European allies.

Despite the end of the Cold War, Europe continues to be a region vital to U.S. security and economic interests. Leaders from both sides of the Atlantic are working to see that the relationship remains constructive into the twenty-first century.

BACKGROUND

The East-West Split

Yalta. In February 1945, before World War II had ended, British prime minister Winston Churchill, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet general secretary Joseph Stalin met at the Soviet resort city of Yalta to discuss the rebuilding of Europe.

The three leaders agreed that when the war was over, both Germany and its capital, Berlin, would be divided into occupation zones: France, Great Britain, and the United States would occupy the western zones of Germany and Berlin, and the Soviet Union would occupy the eastern zones. The task of liberating eastern Europe from Nazi control was given to the Soviet Union because its army was already firmly in position there. Stalin promised that free elections would be held in all the nations in Europe that his troops had liberated.

Europe Divided. However, within weeks after Stalin's forces drove the Nazis from eastern Europe, the Soviets established communist governments in Poland and Romania. Having been attacked by the Germans twice in twenty-five years, Soviet leaders sought to set

National Archives

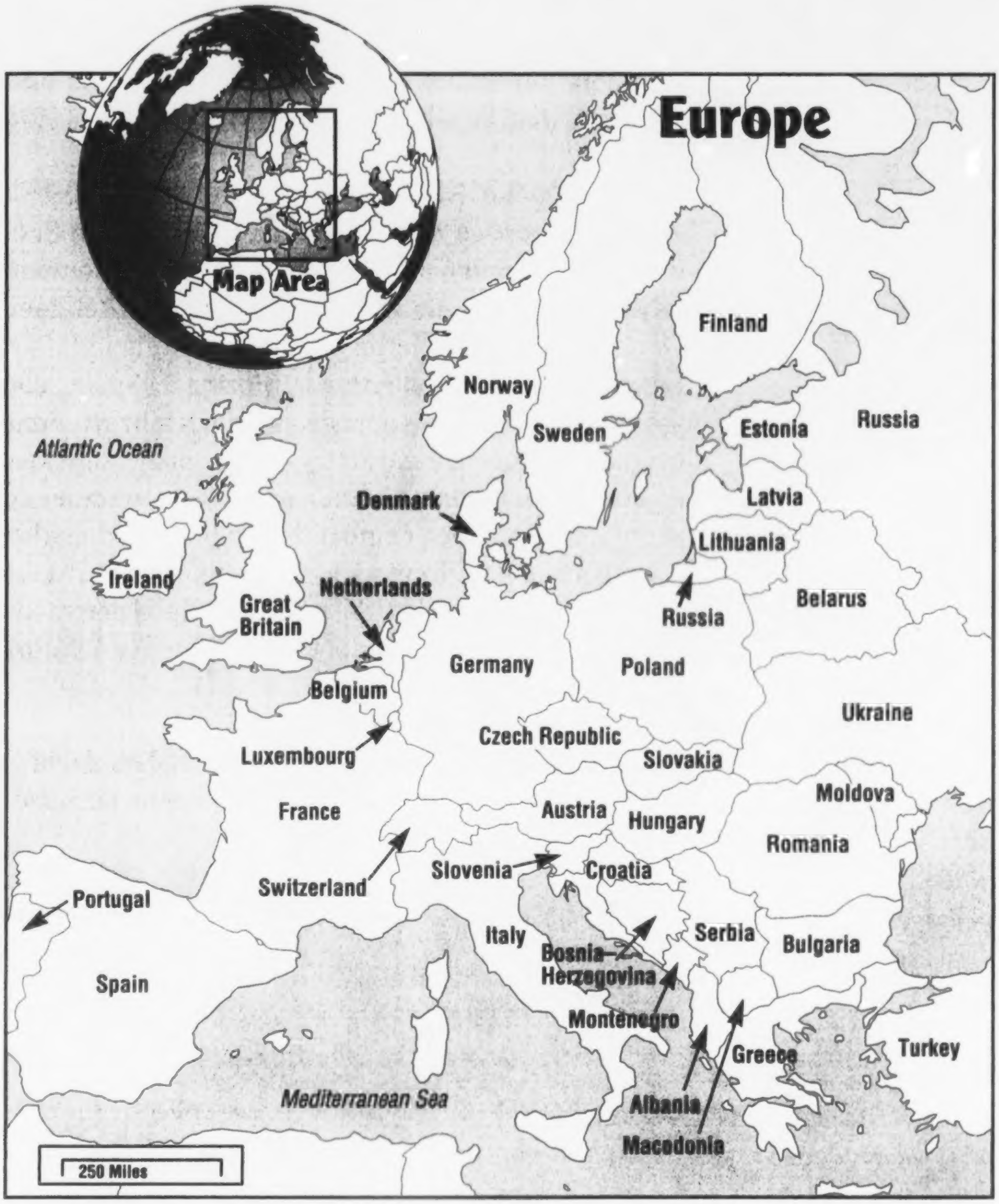
In 1945, before the defeat of Nazi Germany, the three Allied leaders, British prime minister Winston Churchill, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet general secretary Joseph Stalin, met at Yalta to set the stage for the postwar division of Europe.

up a "buffer zone," a geographic area under Soviet control separating Germany from the Soviet Union. The Soviets soon forced communist governments on Hungary and Bulgaria, and native communists seized power in Yugoslavia and Albania. Germany became a divided nation. The United States, Great Britain, and France controlled the western part of the country and kept troops in West Berlin, a divided city located 120 miles inside Soviet-controlled East Germany. In July 1948, the United States announced the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The Soviets responded by declaring East Germany to be the German Democratic Republic in October of that year. The division of Germany into two nations completed the split between the democratic countries of western Europe and the communist countries of eastern Europe.

The United States and Western Europe

The Marshall Plan and NATO. World War II left much of Europe devastated, its economies ruined, and its people desperate. A foreign aid program called the Marshall Plan (1947–53) provided billions of dollars in U.S. aid, investment, and trade to rebuild western Europe. U.S. officials believed that a strong European economy would prevent a rebirth of fascism or an insurgence of communism, and that a strong European military would keep the Soviets from America's doorstep.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance, was established in 1949 to deter an armed communist attack in Europe. All member countries contribute to NATO's budget and many provide troops for NATO's forces, but the commander of these forces has always been from the United States. Sixteen nations belong to NATO—Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In 1955, the Soviet Union and its east Euro-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Russia
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Czech Republic
Luxembourg
Slovakia
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France
Austria
Hungary
Romania
Slovenia
Croatia
Switzerland
Portugal
Italy
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Bosnia-Herzegovina
Spain
Montenegro
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Turkey
Mediterranean Sea
Albania
Macedonia
250 Miles

pean allies—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania—formed a counterpart to NATO called the Warsaw Pact.

During the Cold War, NATO and the Warsaw Pact stationed thousands of troops, tanks, and combat aircraft on European soil and installed nuclear missiles aimed at each other. Seven years after the fall of communism, the number of American troops stationed in Europe has declined; Russia and the United States have reduced their nuclear arsenals; and some eastern European countries, including Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, want to join NATO.

The European Economic Community. In 1957, western European nations formed the European Economic Community, now called the European Community or EC. In some ways, EC members—Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom—operate as though they were one country. Member countries try to plan their economies to complement one another and work together to strengthen European competition in the world market by establishing uniform trade rules and policies. Many economists believe that EC policies helped create the economic boom that western Europe enjoyed during the 1950s and 1960s.

European Unification. In 1985, EC leaders decided to create a single European market where money, peo-

Archive Photos/Express Newspapers

After decades of fighting, British and Irish leaders agreed in 1995 on a plan to end the conflict between Protestants and Catholics in British-ruled Northern Ireland. However, a series of terrorist attacks by the Irish Republican Army in 1996 put the agreement in jeopardy. Here, policemen in London stand in front of a building damaged by an IRA bomb.

EUROPE'S UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

Although many leaders hoped that the European Union would bring economic prosperity to the continent, Europe has not shown much economic growth. Many Europeans are unable to find work. The countries of Europe had a combined 11 percent unemployment rate in 1996, double the U.S. rate. Leaders point out that the growth of jobs has slowed, in part, since the cost of benefits—comprehensive health benefits and four weeks of paid vacation—has increased. Some economists say that European businesses should learn from U.S. companies that hire part-time workers without full benefits.

ple, and goods could cross borders freely. This "Fortress Europe" would be the world's largest and wealthiest free-trade market and, many hoped, would usher in an era of economic prosperity for the whole continent. In January 1992, European leaders signed the Maastricht Treaty, which outlined plans for monetary union, the creation of a single currency, and coordination of EC foreign and defense policies.

However, the road to their nations' approval of European unity hit major economic and political obstacles. Continuing economic problems across the continent soured many Europeans on the idea of economic integration with their neighbors. After bruising political battles in France and Great Britain over European unification, the Maastricht Treaty was finally approved by member nations. On November 1, 1993, the European Union (EU) officially went into effect, but with little fanfare. In 1994, Austria, Finland, and Sweden joined the EU, but Norway, in a national referendum, rejected membership. In 1995, other countries, including Switzerland and Turkey, considered membership in the organization.

In December 1996, the countries of the European Union came to an agreement on a single European currency, called the "Euro." Many nations initially bristled at the agreement, fearing that countries with weak economies would undermine nations with stronger economies. Under the new plan, however, countries that maintain budget deficits of more than 3 percent of their gross domestic product risk paying substantial fines. If the agreement holds, a single European currency could be in use by 1999.

Western Europe and U.S. Economic Policies. In 1993, the United States and the European Union negotiated a new trade agreement as part of the larger General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The new GATT accord, approved by the U.S. Congress in 1994, is projected to add about $500 billion to the global economy by the end of the decade. The United States and the EU were determined to resolve their disputes in part because the continuing economic problems in Europe had become a drag on the world economy.

Changes in Eastern Europe

The Collapse of Communism. In 1989 and 1990, the Soviet Union allowed east European allies Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia to abandon communism and hold democratic elections. The new democracies face difficult

In 1997, the left-of-center Labour Party won the British elections, ending almost twenty years of conservative government in Great Britain. Labour leader Tony Blair (pictured here) replaced John Major as prime minister.

Archive Photos/Reuters/Shawn Baldwin

transitions because many suffer from high inflation and large-scale unemployment. Many countries have requested large sums of aid from the United States, western Europe, and the United Nations to help ensure a peaceful transition to democracy and the development of market economies.

The Reunification of Germany. When East Germany abandoned communism, the question of reunification with West Germany was immediately raised. The four victorious powers from World War II—France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—and the two German countries began reunification negotiations in May 1990. When the Soviet Union agreed to allow a united Germany to join NATO, the final barrier to reunification fell. The economies of the two countries were joined in July 1990, when East Germany adopted the West German deutsche mark as its currency. Political union followed in October of that year.

In 1990, many U.S. officials predicted that a united Germany would become an economic superpower. However, in the early part of the decade, Germany, often called the "engine of the European Community," was bogged down in a deep recession, caused in large part by the high cost of reunification. Western Germany had to invest heavily to help transform eastern Germany's economy. These investments increased the national debt and have yet to pay financial dividends for the entire country. Rising inflation and unemployment and declining productivity eroded confidence that Germany can be a leader on the international stage. Although Germany has seen increased economic growth recently, unemployment remains high.

The Demilitarization of Europe. Changes in eastern Europe hastened arms reductions on the continent. In recent years, the United States, Russia and other former Soviet republics, and European allies signed treaties that eliminated certain kinds of nuclear weapons in Europe and reduced conventional weapons, including tanks, artillery pieces, armored combat vehicles, aircraft, and helicopters. Soviet forces withdrew from Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1991. In addition, leaders from the former Soviet republics have removed the 380,000 troops they had stationed in eastern Germany, and are laying plans to withdraw from the other east European countries as well. In 1996, American troops in Europe numbered around 100,000, down from a high of about 300,000 during the 1980s.

The Rise of Nationalism. Since the end of the Cold War, parts of eastern Europe have seen the reemergence of nationalism. Nationalism—a people's devotion to its religion, culture, or ethnicity—has been an important force in practically all major international conflicts of the twentieth century.

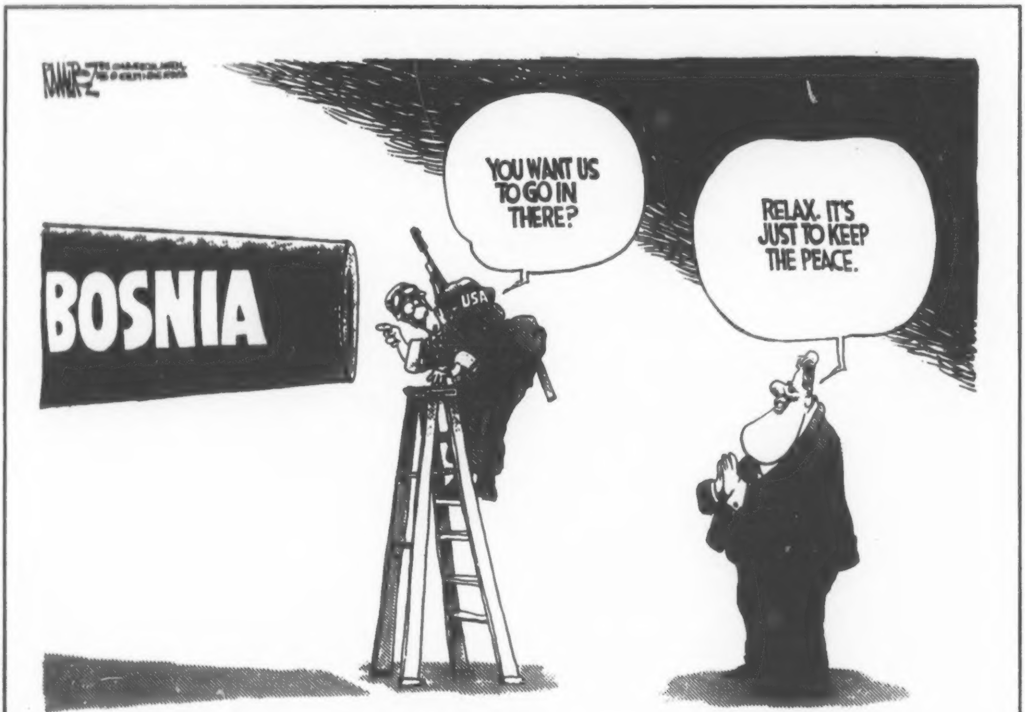
In 1991, Yugoslavia was torn apart by ethnic hatred and fierce nationalism. Yugoslavia had been created after World War I when communists joined six formerly independent republics: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. Tensions among Yugoslavia's ethnically and religiously different populations ran deep, but communist rule suppressed potential conflicts for forty years.

After Soviet domination over eastern Europe ended in 1990, Serbia, the largest and most militarily powerful of the Yugoslav republics, began a campaign to unite the other territories under the banner of "Greater Serbia." In June 1991, Croatia declared its independence and seceded from Yugoslavia. Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic sent troops into Croatia to stop the move, but Croatia won its independence after a bloody conflict. Soon the heavily Muslim republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina followed Croatia's lead and declared its independence. Encouraged by Milosevic, the Serb minority living in Bosnia declared war, with the goal of creating their own Serb-controlled country within Bosnia.

The conflict between the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats turned much of Bosnia into a war zone. The world was shocked as reports emerged describing devastating human rights abuses committed by Serb troops, including "ethnic cleansing"—the random detention and murder of Muslim and Croat men, women, and children. However, as world leaders realized that the violence could spill over into neighboring European countries, the international community made resolution of the conflict a priority.

After almost four years of war that produced 250,000 dead and 3 million refugees, leaders of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia signed a peace treaty that divides Bosnia into two entities: a Muslim-Croat federation and a Serb republic. Sarajevo, the capital, is located in the Muslim-Croat federation. In December 1995, President Bill Clinton sent 20,000 U.S. troops to take part in a NATO peacekeeping force in Bosnia.

Although the fighting in Bosnia has been largely eliminated by the presence of foreign troops, ethnic rivalries continue to simmer. American troops were scheduled to leave Bosnia after one year, but President Clinton announced in early 1997 that 8,500 troops would remain until mid-1998.


RAMIREZ
BOSNIA
USA
YOU WANT US TO GO IN THERE?
RELAX. IT'S JUST TO KEEP THE PEACE.

Mike Ramirez/Copley News Service

CURRENT ISSUES

U.S. Troops in Bosnia. When the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina began in 1991, most countries, including the United States, were ill-prepared to deal with the conflict. As the war dragged on, many nations hesitated to become involved.

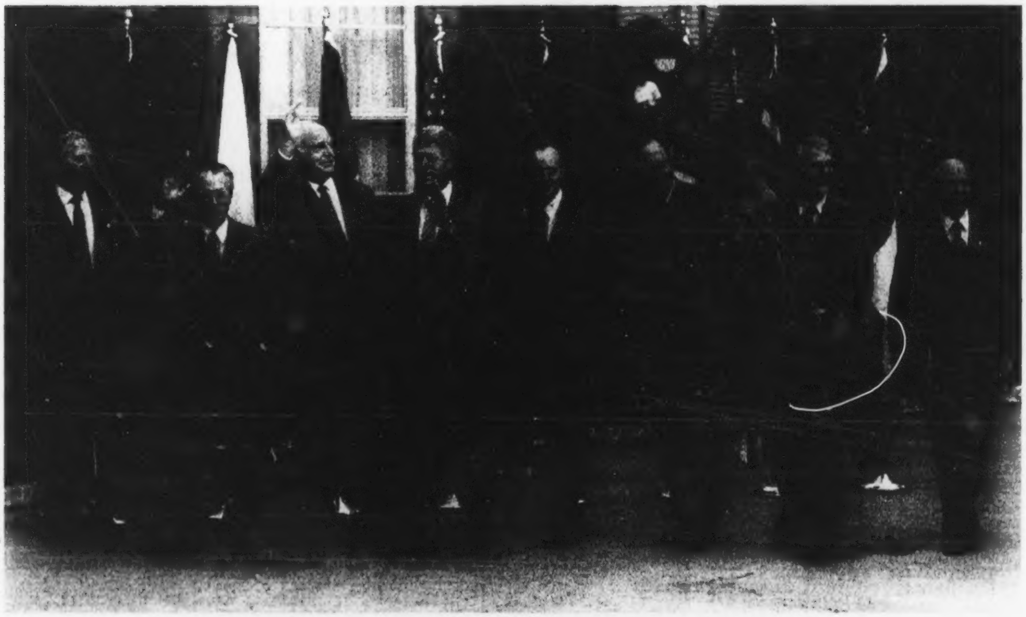
In 1995, the Serbs agreed to participate in peace negotiations. Leaders from the former Yugoslavia, Croatian president Franjo Tudjman, Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic, and Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic came to Dayton, Ohio, to take part in peace talks mediated by the United States' Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke.

The Dayton peace treaty divided Bosnia into two ethnic zones—a Muslim-Croat federation that will control 51 percent of the territory and the capital of Sarajevo, and a Serb republic, holding 49 percent of Bosnia. In addition, the agreement calls for the continuation of the investigation into war crimes and the adoption of a constitution that will guarantee human rights for all ethnic groups.

U.S. and European backers, acknowledging that the peace in Bosnia is fragile, sent 60,000 NATO troops to police the war-torn country. However, the NATO peacekeeping mission—called "Operation Joint Venture"—is controversial.

Some experts think that protecting Europe's political stability is in America's national interest. Supporters of a U.S. military operation in Bosnia believe that the preservation of peace is impossible without the presence of a formidable peacekeeping force that includes U.S. soldiers. They warn that ignoring Bosnia could result in a series of nationalistic conflicts throughout Europe. In addition, they argue that the peace treaty may collapse without strong U.S. support. President Clinton and other officials also believe that the United States has a moral responsibility to stop the atrocities in Bosnia.

However, critics wonder what national interest is being served by risking American lives in the aftermath



AP Photo/Lacy Atkins

President Clinton and other European leaders (pictured here) are planning on offering some eastern European nations full membership in NATO, despite the strong objections from the Russian government.

of a war in a small eastern European country. They believe that Bosnia is a European, not an American, problem. Furthermore, some members of Congress doubt that Americans want to finance the cost of the operation—about $1.5 billion—and think that once American soldiers are sent to Bosnia, the United States will be entangled in a foreign struggle among ethnic and religious groups that hate each other.

Expanding NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed in 1949 to protect its members—the United States, Canada, and most of western Europe—from the Soviet Union. Countries in NATO agree to offer assistance to each other in the event of military aggression and consider "an armed attack on one . . . as an armed attack on them all." The United States is the most powerful member of NATO.

To be admitted into the alliance, a country must demonstrate its military strength, government stability, and loyalty to the other member nations. Many U.S. officials have proposed expanding NATO, despite protests from Russia, which sees this as a threat to its national security. Nevertheless, NATO has tentatively agreed to offer membership to Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in July 1997. The United States and its allies hope to appease Russia by not installing NATO nuclear weapons in new member countries. However, before the offer of membership can be extended, it must be approved by the U.S. Senate.

Many U.S. policymakers, including President Clinton, believe that NATO should allow Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic to join the alliance. If this arrangement succeeds, the agreement could expand to include other eastern European nations, such as Slovenia, Estonia, Bulgaria, and Romania. Supporters believe expanding NATO would further advance democratic reforms in eastern Europe and provide these nations with a buffer against Russia if that nation's government were to turn hostile. In addition, new members could lighten the burden on the United States and others in peacekeeping missions in Europe, including the operation in Bosnia. Moreover, proponents argue, expanding NATO would ensure the United States a strong leadership role in Europe for years to come.

However, the proposal to expand NATO has many critics. Some foreign policy experts say that these potential new members do not have the military strength or stable enough democracies needed to live up to their end of the bargain. Some critics estimate that it could cost the United States more than $125 billion over the next five years to bring the militaries of these nations in line with NATO standards. Another concern is that the United States would risk costly foreign military involvements if it is obligated to defend the new allies. Moreover, building military alliances with former Soviet allies could enflame anti-Western sentiment in the Russian government, which some U.S. officials believe is a risk not worth taking.

GUN CONTROL IN GREAT BRITAIN

In the wake of several highly publicized murders, the British parliament proposed a law that would virtually ban handguns in that country. Although British gun laws were already significantly more strict than those in the United States, the new law would prohibit any civilian from keeping a handgun at home. Some U.S. gun control advocates have often cited the generally low number of incidents of violent crime in Great Britain as proof that gun control laws work.

U.S. Department of Defense

Today, there are about 100,000 U.S. troops in Europe, a dramatic decrease from a high of about 300,000 during the 1980s.

Military Presence in Europe. Since the end of World War II, much of the military strategy of the United States has centered on the defense of Europe. During the 1980s, the United States maintained a force of about 300,000 soldiers in Europe, most of whom were located near the Iron Curtain—the borders between communist and free nations. However, as a result of the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union, the U.S. government has reduced the number of troops in Europe to roughly 100,000, closing more than 100 military installations. Some lawmakers insist that the reduction should be even greater, including closing additional bases and trimming U.S. forces in Europe to around 60,000 troops.

Other arguments for scaling down the U.S. troop presence are that Europe has been basically peaceful since 1945, and the collapse of communism has virtually eliminated outside threats. In addition, Americans who favor a major pullout contend that Europe is strong enough to defend itself; the United States can no longer afford to provide for the defense of its allies across the Atlantic.

Officials who want to keep a substantial number of U.S. troops in Europe contend that a strong American presence is still needed to make sure that nationalistic conflicts—such as the war in Bosnia—do not occur. In addition, they point out that until Russia is completely successful in establishing capitalism and democracy, the United States must remain in Europe in case Moscow returns to communist or totalitarian rule and threatens U.S. allies. In response to the argument that the United States carries an unfair burden for defending Europe, supporters of a strong U.S. presence in Europe say that such reasoning ignores Europe's substantial contributions to NATO. They point out that Europe's NATO members already provide most of the soldiers, combat planes, armored divisions, and fighting ships within the alliance, and that the U.S. presence is necessary to support these forces.

OUTLOOK

The United States has made a firm commitment to provide peace and stability in Europe for more than fifty years. From the Marshall Plan and the establishment of NATO in the 1940s to Operation Joint Venture in the 1990s, U.S. policies have protected American strategic and economic interests. While few would dispute the notion that trade with Europe is a key component of U.S. economic policy abroad, putting American troops in harm's way in Bosnia has provoked considerable debate across the country. The success or failure of the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia could shape U.S. foreign policy in the years to come, as the U.S. government debates whether to embark on similar peacekeeping missions in other parts of the world.

THE DEBATE: EUROPE

Peace in Bosnia Is a Vital U.S. National Interest.

PRO: Without a strong U.S. presence in Bosnia, peace will not last. A strong Europe is in America's national interest, and the conflict in Bosnia will not be resolved without decisive U.S. leadership. Political stability will lead to a prosperous trading relationship with European nations. America's responsibility as a major power mandates a strong role in this problematic war that Europe cannot solve by itself. Supporting the peace treaty is the only morally acceptable option.

CON: The United States has no national interest in Bosnia. U.S. troops should not be asked to risk their lives to ensure peace in a foreign nation of little value to the United States. European troops should be keeping the peace in Bosnia. The complex ethnic disputes in Bosnia are centuries old and will not disappear in a matter of months, if ever. The situation may never be completely resolved, and could require U.S. troops to stay in Bosnia indefinitely.

NATO Should Be Expanded.

PRO: Allowing eastern European nations to join NATO will help foster the growth of democracy and stability in that region. Many countries, including Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, have demonstrated their willingness to comply with the requirements of NATO membership. Extending an invitation to these countries, and possibly to other nations in the future, would make them U.S. allies and provide a strong buffer against Russia if that nation's relationship with the United States were to deteriorate.

CON: Because Russia views NATO expansion as a national security threat, forging military alliances with former Soviet republics in eastern Europe will only harm U.S.–Russian relations. These nations, with their brief democratic histories, are unreliable security partners. It will cost the United States billions of dollars to upgrade the military forces of these countries to NATO standards. This extra expense is not worth jeopardizing the fragile U.S. relationship with the still unstable Russia.

The United States Should Continue to Defend Europe.

PRO: Withdrawing vast numbers of American troops from Europe could jeopardize the security of Europe. The tenuous peace in the Balkans poses a huge risk to the stability of the continent. The future of democracy and capitalism in the former Soviet republics is uncertain. U.S. troops are needed to protect peaceful Europeans from local uprisings and violence.

CON: U.S. troops stationed in western Europe are costly for American taxpayers. Communism is no longer a threat, and European nations are rich enough to pay entirely for their own defense. Bringing troops home would save the United States billions of dollars and force the Europeans to maintain their own armies and provide their own military hardware.

LATIN AMERICA

In the early 1990s, Latin America—Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean—underwent a democratic and economic transformation. Military dictatorships fell, popular elections were held, and free-market economies began to take hold.

In contrast, during the 1980s the region suffered through economic decline, war, communist insurgencies, and political instability. Greatly concerned by the region's crises, U.S. leaders provided economic and military aid to Central American and Caribbean countries to keep communism out of the Western Hemisphere. In light of its tumultuous past, most observers agree that the recent changes in Latin America have been remarkable.

Yet despite recent gains, some U.S. officials continue to have doubts about the stability and future of many Latin American countries. Popular unrest, in Mexico and Brazil for example, has proved to many that not all reforms have been successful. Many U.S. leaders are also concerned about the increasing violence and political influence surrounding the drug trade. However, others believe that these problems can be overcome and should not prevent the United States from expanding free trade beyond the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to include countries in Central and South America. U.S. policy toward these Latin American countries is significant because it could determine the future of democracy in the entire region.

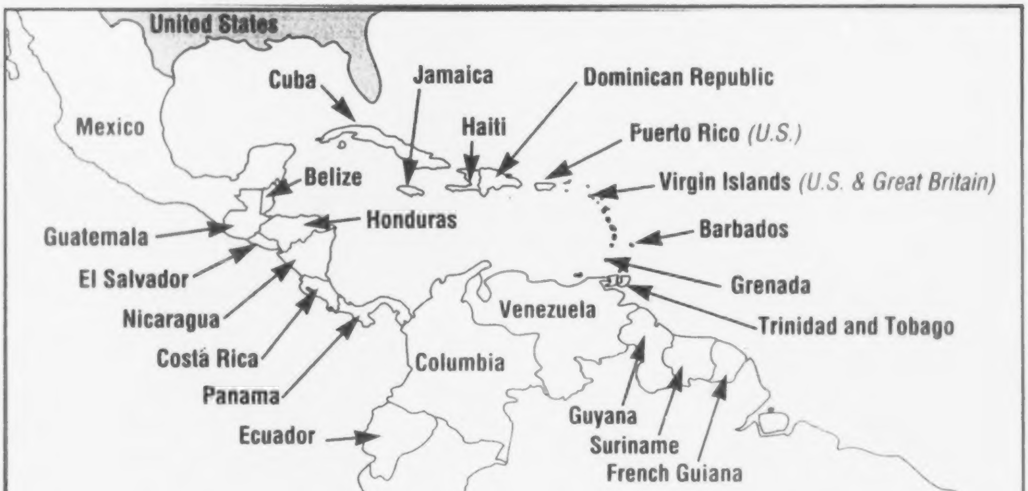
KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the United States lift the economic embargo against Cuba?
- Should the United States and Latin America establish a hemispheric free-trade zone?
- Should the United States use military means to combat the Latin American drug trade?

BACKGROUND

Mexico

Although Mexico is part of North America, it has more in common with its neighbors to the south than with the United States and Canada. Nevertheless, Mexico and the United States have had close relations for many years. The two countries share a 2,000-mile border, and Mexico is the United States' third-largest trading


United States
Mexico
Cuba
Jamaica
Haiti
Dominican Republic
Puerto Rico *(U.S.)*
Virgin Islands *(U.S. & Great Britain)*
Belize
Honduras
Guatemala
El Salvador
Nicaragua
Costá Rica
Panama
Barbados
Grenada
Trinidad and Tobago
Venezuela
Columbia
Ecuador
Guyana
Suriname
French Guiana
Peru
Brazil
Bolivia
Paraguay
Latin America
Chile
Uruguay
Argentina
Map Area
500 Miles

partner (after Canada and Japan). In 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect, gradually phasing out barriers to trade among the United States, Mexico, and Canada.

Unlike many countries in Latin America, Mexico has been relatively stable politically. The Institutional Revolution Party, known as the PRI, has been in power since 1929. However, many believe that the PRI has kept power through corruption and fraudulent elections. From 1988 to 1994, Mexico was led by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, who radically reformed his country's economy and helped negotiate NAFTA.

Still, Mexico's economy continued to lag during the Salinas presidency because the government funded economic growth primarily by borrowing money from other countries rather than by building domestic industries. Even though Mexicans earn more money per year than do residents in most other Latin American countries, many of its people live in poverty.

By 1997, Mexico had made substantial strides in recovering from the peso crisis of 1994. Many observers have credited the economic reforms of Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo, pictured here, for the improvements.

Embassy of Mexico

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León—also a member of the PRI—became president in December 1994 after what was considered a fair and open election, and promised to reform Mexico's economy and government. However, confidence in Zedillo and the PRI has decreased, creating popular unrest in parts of the country. In late 1996, a guerrilla rebel group known as the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) attacked several cities in Mexico and called for an overthrow of the government.

Economic Crisis. In December 1994, President Zedillo lifted Mexico's fixed exchange rate against the U.S. dollar because the value of its currency—the peso—was inflated. In two weeks, the peso lost 40 percent of its value against the U.S. dollar, resulting in an economic crisis. The United States and other foreign governments gave more than $50 billion in loan guarantees to stabilize Mexico's battered and debt-ridden economy. By late 1996, the Mexican economy had made significant gains in decreasing inflation and reversing the trade deficit. However, the sluggish recovery of domestic buying trends has caused concern among U.S. officials who had hoped the passage of NAFTA would prompt Mexicans to purchase more U.S. goods.

"CENTRAL" AND "LATIN" AMERICA

"Central America" is the term used to describe the countries north of South America and south of Mexico. These countries include Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. "Latin America" is a more general term that refers to countries in the southern half of the Western Hemisphere, where the people speak Spanish, Portuguese, and French—languages that derive from Latin. However, not all of Latin America is truly "Latin." For instance, Belize, a former British colony, uses English as its official language, and Dutch is spoken in Suriname.

Central America

Central America is a group of seven nations located between Mexico and South America. Many of the countries in the region have been ruled by military dictatorships, and the region has experienced civil war and poverty in recent years.

Nicaragua. After forty-five years of dictatorial rule by the corrupt Somoza family, a civil war erupted in Nicaragua in 1977. The Somoza regime was overthrown by a popular opposition movement made up of a procommunist group—the Sandinista National Liberation Front—and several other political factions representing both impoverished Nicaraguans and the middle class. The Sandinista government, led by President Daniel Ortega, maintained close ties to the Soviet Union and Cuba and received millions of dollars in economic and military aid from these two nations. In response to Ortega's procommunist government, the United States enacted a trade embargo against Nicaragua and backed antigovernment rebels, known as the *contras.*

In 1989, Ortega agreed to a regional peace plan whereby the *contra* forces would be disbanded if Ortega's government held democratic elections. To the surprise of many, Ortega lost that election to the U.S.–backed opposition candidate, Violeta Chamorro. However, Sandinista leaders continued to hold powerful positions in the military, and Ortega ran for president again in 1996. This time he was defeated by a right-wing candidate, Arnoldo Aleman. Aleman has pledged to work with leftist leaders to improve Nicaragua's economy.

Reuters/Oswaldo Rivas/Archive Photos

In October 1996, Arnoldo Aleman, a conservative former mayor of Managua, defeated Daniel Ortega to become president of Nicaragua. Aleman has pledged to bridge the divide between his supporters and the Sandinistas who supported Ortega.

South America

South America is the fourth largest of the world's seven continents and is made up of thirteen nations with great geographic, climatic, and cultural diversity. For most of the twentieth century, political elites—primarily military officers—controlled the thirteen countries. Recently, democratic movements have brought free elections and free-market economic policies to many South American countries, opening the door for expanding diplomatic and trade relations with the United States and the rest of the world.

Colombia. Located in the northwest of South America, Colombia, the oldest democracy on the continent, has been under constant siege by political and criminal factions for more than forty years. Colombia has a long history of violence, seen most vividly in recent years in the war between the government and the drug cartels. Colombia has been called the "cocaine capital of the world," responsible for growing and manufacturing 75 percent of the world supply. By 1996, Colombia had also begun to dominate the burgeoning world heroin market, providing nearly 65 percent of the drug coming into the United States. Despite periodic government crackdowns, drug traffickers continue to wield considerable power in the country and have been responsible for much of Colombia's domestic crime and terrorism.

In early 1996, Colombians protested in the streets, calling for President Ernesto Samper's resignation amid accusations that he accepted campaign money from the Cali drug cartel. As a result of Samper's alleged connections and his government's failure to rein in the drug cartels, President Clinton revoked Colombia's eligibility for most U.S. foreign aid. U.S. officials also revoked President Samper's visa, saying that "people who knowingly assist drug traffickers are not welcome in the United States."

Peru. Like many other South American countries, Peru has a long history of rule by dictators and military-backed governments. In 1980, the military stepped aside, and Peru began the longest uninterrupted democratic period in its 166-year history. That decade, however, was marred by high inflation, political corruption, and the government's war with a left-wing guerrilla group known as the Shining Path. Shining Path terrorist attacks on government officials and facilities and on civilians crippled Peru's leadership. In 1990, Alberto Fujimori was elected president after promising to crack down on both the Shining Path and corruption. In 1992, Fujimori suspended the constitution and imposed censorship on the press, saying these actions were necessary to battle the Shining Path. Many nations denounced what they called Fujimori's authoritarian rule. However, the Shining Path continued its acts of terror in Peru. In July 1996, the group exploded a car bomb outside a police station in the capital city of Lima. In January 1997, another terrorist group, known as the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, held hundreds of foreign diplomats captive in the Japanese embassy for months to express their dissatisfaction with the Peruvian government. Many observers believe that if the wave of terrorism continues, Fujimori could further restrict individual freedoms and solidify his hold on power.

WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT

In 1996, Brazil passed a law requiring women candidates to make up at least 20 percent of the ticket of each political party. Before the law, women held only 13.1 percent of political offices but made up 52 percent of the overall population. The government ran television commercials to encourage women candidates and provided free campaign advice, prompting more than 75,000 women to run for office nationwide. Opponents of the policy contend it could make gender a more important factor in winning an election than qualifications.

Chile. Like many other South American countries, Chile was for many years led by a military dictator, General Augusto Pinochet. In 1973, Pinochet staged a military coup and began reversing the socialist economic policies of the previous democratically elected civilian government. Although his free-market economic policies brought more prosperity to Chile, Pinochet was a ruthless dictator. During his rule, more than 1,000 Chileans disappeared and died, and hundreds of thousands more were tortured and exiled.

In 1990, Pinochet ceded the presidency to a popularly elected government, but he retained his role as commander in chief of the army as well as his considerable influence over the government. Current president Eduardo Frei has continued the free-market economic policies implemented by Pinochet, while trying to bring the military under more civilian control. Chile's thriving economy, low inflation and unemployment, and strong peso make it the next likely country to join NAFTA.

The Caribbean

The Caribbean consists of a group of island nations—including Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, and Jamaica—stretching from near the coast of Florida to the northern coast of South America. Many different cultures and ethnic groups make up the Caribbean population. The area, parts of which are a short boat ride away from southern Florida, has long been of interest to the United States.

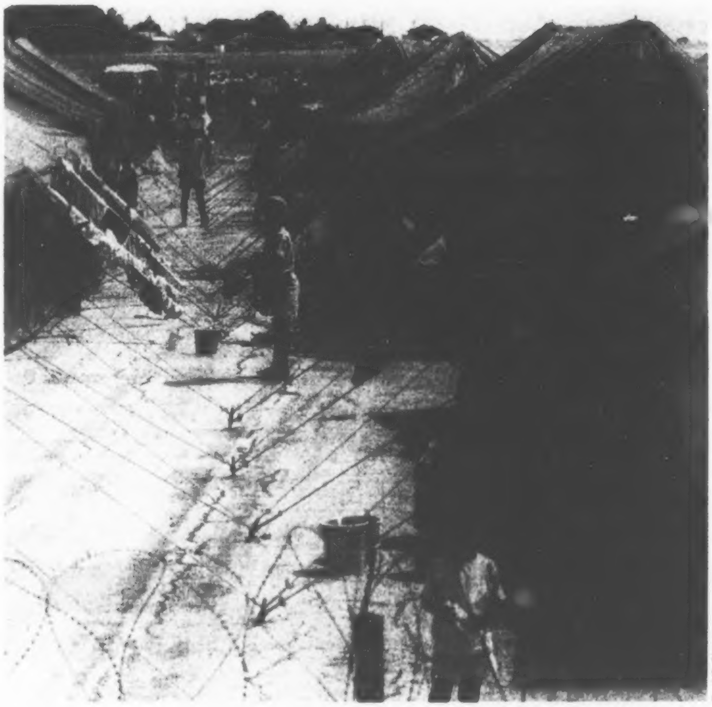
Cuba. The large Caribbean island of Cuba, located just ninety miles from Florida, has the only remaining military government in Latin America and one of the few remaining communist regimes in the world. Cuba's leader, Fidel Castro, came to power in 1959 and immediately instituted a communist-style program of economic and social changes.

By 1960, Castro's belligerent anti-Americanism, human rights violations, and growing ties to the Soviet Union had seriously strained Cuba's relations with the United States. When Castro seized U.S. assets in Cuba, President Dwight Eisenhower retaliated by stopping trade with the island nation. In 1962, the Cuban missile crisis prompted President John Kennedy to put U.S. military forces on alert until the Soviets agreed to abandon their plan to place nuclear missiles in Cuba.

When the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, Cuba's traditional lifeline of economic and political support was cut. Meanwhile, the U.S. trade embargo continued. Despite severe economic and social problems in his country, Castro remains committed to communism.

In March 1996, President Bill Clinton expanded the reach of the U.S. economic embargo when he signed the Helms-Burton Act into law. This law seeks to prevent other nations from trading with Cuba by punishing them when they do. Though it was initially met with protest from U.S. trading partners, in December 1996 countries in the European Union agreed in part with the U.S. position. They announced that their economic relations with Cuba would only proceed if Cuba made significant strides toward improving its record on human rights and political freedom.

Haiti. In 1804, Haiti became an independent country—the first Latin American country to win independence from its colonizer (France). However, Haiti is



In the early 1990s, many people fled the terrible conditions in Haiti and sought refuge in the United States. While awaiting entry into the country, many of these refugees were held at the U.S. Marine base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, pictured here.

Paul E. Alers

also the most impoverished country in the Western Hemisphere and one of the least developed in the world.

Throughout most of its history, Haiti has been governed by authoritarian regimes. François "Papa Doc" Duvalier ruled Haiti from the 1950s through the 1970s; his son, Jean Claude, took over in 1980 but was ousted in 1986. In 1990, Jean-Bertrand Aristide became Haiti's first democratically elected leader. However, Aristide was overthrown by the Haitian military and had to flee the country in September 1991. The United States and the United Nations imposed an economic embargo on Haiti to pressure the coup leaders to step down and allow Aristide to return. As a result, several thousand Haitian refugees attempted to emigrate to the United States to escape the terrible economic and social conditions.

The Haitian military finally relinquished power and Aristide was allowed to return in October 1994, with the assistance of troops sent to Haiti by the United States and the United Nations. In February 1996, for the first time in Haiti's history, political power was peacefully transferred from one democratically elected leader, Aristide, to another, new president René Préval. Though U.S. peacekeeping troops withdrew from the country in February 1996, Haiti still receives nearly $800 million in foreign aid annually and continues to be occupied by United Nations peacekeeping troops.

U.S. Foreign Policy in Latin America

Until recently, most Latin American countries had military leaders, communist insurgencies or regimes, closed economies, and poverty-stricken populations. During the Cold War, U.S. leaders implemented policies in Latin America to contain communism and to counteract conditions—such as poverty and economic decline—that encouraged Marxist rebellions. As democracy and market economic reform began to spread throughout the region in the 1990s, American officials developed policies to strengthen the economic relationship between the United States and many Latin American countries.

Economic Aid. In the 1960s, President John Kennedy created the Alliance for Progress, an economic aid program that provided government funds for roads, schools, hospitals, and water projects. However, the aid did not put an end to social and economic inequities in the region. In the mid-1970s, the United States

PEACE AT LAST

In November 1996, government officials and leftists rebels in Guatemala finally agreed to end a civil war that had raged in that Central American nation since 1960. The peace treaty, signed on December 29, put an official end to a war that had killed more than 120,000 Guatemalans and left 40,000 people missing. Though the war had diminished in intensity in recent years, the perception of internal instability weakened Guatemala's reputation worldwide and jeopardized its receipt of badly-needed foreign aid. For example, U.S. aid dropped from $91 million in 1991 to less than $30 million in 1996. Guatemala is one of the poorest countries in Latin America.

stopped giving aid to some of these countries after President Jimmy Carter accused their governments of human rights abuses. In 1982, Congress passed the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which gave large amounts of economic aid to the countries of the Caribbean and Central America, special duty-free status to products made in the Caribbean, and tax incentives to U.S. businesses that invested in the region.

In 1982, Mexico announced that it could not pay the substantial debts it owed to other countries, the first in a long series of Latin American governments to ask for help with their debts. The United States responded with two plans to set up new schedules for repayment of the remainder of the debts. A 1994 economic crisis in Mexico, which caused a severe devaluation of the peso, prompted the United States and other nations to provide that country with $50 billion in loan guarantees. By 1996, an improved economy had enabled Mexico to repay the United States almost $10 billion of its $12 billion loan.

The Reagan Doctrine. When he came to office in 1980, President Ronald Reagan strengthened the U.S. presence in Central America. He supplied large amounts of economic and military aid to U.S. allies there in an effort to curb the perceived threat to U.S. security from communist insurgents supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba. Reagan also sent troops to the small island nation of Grenada to quickly put down a communist rebellion in 1983.

During his second term, President Reagan lobbied Congress for support for the *contra* rebels trying to unseat the communist leadership in Nicaragua. In 1986, a reluctant Congress approved $100 million in military and "humanitarian" aid for the *contras.* Later that year, the Reagan administration revealed that White House staff member Lt. Col. Oliver North had already secretly sent millions of dollars to the *contras* in Nicaragua without congressional approval, diverting profits from clandestine U.S. arms sales to Iran. This incident, known as the Iran/*contra* scandal, became a major source of controversy for both President Reagan and his successor, President George Bush.

Promoting Free Trade. After a decade of debt, political upheaval, and in some cases civil war, many Latin American countries are experiencing a period of democratic reform and booming economies. Economists attribute much of this revival to the promotion of free trade in the region.

The North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect on January 1, 1994, lowering barriers to trade among Canada, Mexico, and the United States. The historic agreement gradually lowers and eventually eliminates tariffs on about 65 percent of U.S. industrial and agricultural exports to Mexico—which would be eligible for duty-free trade within five years. NAFTA also gradually lowers trade barriers for automobiles, agriculture, and foreign investment.

Critics of NAFTA worried that American workers in certain industries would lose their jobs under international competition. Others were concerned that Mexico's poor enforcement of environmental standards would only worsen the severe pollution problems in the U.S.–Mexico border region.

Since its passage, policymakers have been divided on the true impact of NAFTA on the U.S. economy. After an initial boom in U.S. exports to Mexico, the peso crisis weakened the country's buying power and resulted in a $15.4 billion U.S trade deficit. Though some American corporations did move their operations south of the border to take advantage of lower wages, many economists believe that the overall effect on the American job market has been minimal.

In 1996, U.S. officials considered making Chile, whose economy is strong, a member of NAFTA. Moreover, recent summits between the United States and other countries in Central and South America have developed plans for a "Free Trade Area of the Americas" by 2005. However, the continuing economic instability in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America has delayed the plan.

CURRENT ISSUES

U.S. Relations with Cuba. During the Cold War, Fidel Castro's ties to the Soviet Union and his human rights abuses caused U.S. leaders to consider him a serious threat to the peace and political stability of the Western Hemisphere. The United States imposed a trade embargo in an effort to choke off Cuba's economy and weaken Castro's regime. Then, with the end of the Cold War in 1990 and the collapse of communist governments in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, economic aid to Cuba from these former allies also dried up.

No other government in the world cooperates with the United States in the Cuban trade embargo. Opponents of the embargo point out that many other countries do business with Cuba and that the United States is missing out on these potential profits. Opponents believe that the embargo and the 1996 Helms-Burton Act, which penalizes U.S. trading partners if they trade with Cuba, strains U.S. relations with other countries. Critics of the American embargo also argue that opening trade and

In November 1996, Pope John Paul II, leader of the Roman Catholic Church, and Cuban dictator Fidel Castro met for the first time in Vatican City. The two made plans for the pope to visit Cuba in January 1998. Cuba is the only Latin American country the pope has never visited.

Reuters/Vatican/Archive Photos

travel relations, not closing them, is the best way to promote free enterprise and political reform in Cuba. They fear that Cuba's poor economic conditions, made worse by the embargo, could lead to unrest and cause a massive emigration by Cubans to the United States.

Those who want to continue the embargo decry Castro's record of political repression and argue that the United States should not deal with a regime that has such a poor human rights record. They also point to Castro's earlier goals of spreading communist revolution throughout Central America and his military support of communist rebels in the African country of Angola in the 1980s. They say that the embargo is working and that Cuba's faltering economy will weaken Castro's leadership, leaving the door open for true economic and political reform in Cuba.

A Hemispheric Free-Trade Zone. In the late 1980s, Latin American economies were in dismal shape after more than three decades of authoritarian governments, overborrowing, and strict trade protectionism. Trade between Latin American nations and the rest of the world was limited because huge tariffs—sometimes as high as 1,000 percent—were slapped on imports. As a result, the region's economies were isolated and weak, leading to political instability in many of its nations.

In the early 1990s, as Latin America moved toward democracy, its markets slowly began to open up to freer trade and more economic integration. Nations began to lower tariffs and negotiate trade agreements. Since then, Latin America's economy has grown at about 3 percent annually.

Latin America's economic progress has encouraged U.S. and other officials to consider combining regional trade agreements to form a single free-trade system in the entire hemisphere. Supporters of such a free-trade zone believe it would create unprecedented economic and political cooperation between the United States and its Latin American neighbors. Many economists think Latin American nations are more willing than Asian or European nations to eliminate trade and investment barriers against the United States. This willingness offers an opportunity for American businesses to sell their products in these markets and create hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs. Furthermore, cooperation on the economic front, many believe, will lead to greater teamwork on other problems, including drug trafficking, human rights violations, and environmental degradation.

However, many Americans have the same fears about a hemispheric free-trade zone as they had about NAFTA. Most organized labor groups in the United States believe trade agreements with less developed nations will encourage U.S. companies to move their factories to Latin America to take advantage of lower wages. The end result, according to these critics, will be a net loss of American jobs. In addition, opponents of creating a hemispheric free-trade zone say that Latin American nations must first have stable market economies and corruption-free, democratic governments before the United States trades freely with them. They contend that Mexico's economic crisis revealed the potential dangers and costs of tying U.S. economic interests to those of Latin American nations.

The War on Drugs. For decades, U.S. officials have struggled to stop the flow of illegal drugs into the United States from Latin America. The sale and use of cocaine, crack cocaine, and, more recently, heroin has been blamed in part for the violent crime, poverty, and homelessness in many American cities. Areas in Latin America, however, have suffered even greater costs. Many citizens there have become virtual prisoners of this illegal and deadly industry. In Colombia, for example, drug cartels have been responsible for numerous assassinations and bombings, giving the country one of the world's highest murder rates. By 1997, this "narcoterrorism" was beginning to spread beyond Colombia to areas in Mexico and Venezuela, causing further concern for U.S. leaders.

To combat these growing problems, some believe that the U.S. government should provide Latin Amer-

U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration

Capitalizing on the rise in heroin use in the 1990s, Colombia's drug cartel began a massive effort to produce and export the drug to the United States. The amount of Colombian heroin seized in U.S. drug busts, like the one pictured here, has quadrupled since 1991.

ican countries with military assistance to help eliminate the drug trade. They support increasing the presence of U.S. military personnel along the U.S.–Mexican border—a common point of entry for drug traffickers. Moreover, they favor funding antidrug military operations in countries where illegal drugs are grown, harvested, and distributed.

In 1996, President Clinton authorized the distribution of nearly $40 million in military equipment to Colombia to combat the powerful hold the drug trade has on that country. Some have even proposed turning the U.S. military base in Panama into an "antinarcotics center," where the United States and other countries could coordinate their efforts to stop the flow of illegal drugs out of Latin America.

Supporters of using the military and giving military aid to fight the drug trade say it is the only way to put a stop to this increasingly lucrative, and violent, enterprise; this problem will only be solved by stemming the flow of drugs at the source. Because drug cartels have corrupted so many Latin American elected officials, the efforts of local governments have been ineffectual (it is estimated that more than half of the representatives in Colombia's national legislature, for example, have received bribes from the drug cartels).

Proponents contend that coordinating U.S. military efforts with other concerned nations could also improve the chances that drug trafficking can be stopped once and for all.

Opponents of aiding military efforts in Latin America say the plan amounts to unwanted intervention in the internal affairs of independent nations. If the assistance is unwelcome, it could strain important U.S.–Latin American trading relationships. Funding military efforts in Latin America would divert valuable dollars from more deserving and less risky antidrug programs. The better way to eliminate narcotics trafficking, say these critics, is to stem the demand for illegal drugs in the United States through better education, increased economic opportunity, and domestic law enforcement.

OUTLOOK

The United States' past involvement in Latin America focused on helping anticommunist movements through economic and military aid, including the use of U.S. troops. Today, the relationship is based more on economic, rather than strategic, interests. As officials monitor the effect of NAFTA on the United States, Canada, and Mexico, some Latin American and U.S. leaders hope to expand free trade to the entire Western Hemisphere. However, Latin America's democratic governments and their free-market reforms are still young and, in some cases, fragile. The ability of Latin American governments to contain the flow of illegal drugs into the United States will likely be a major factor in determining policy toward the region. These and other problems are causing U.S. lawmakers to weigh seriously the effects of free trade and greater economic ties on both the United States and its Latin American trading partners.

THE DEBATE: LATIN AMERICA

The United States Should Lift the Economic Embargo Against Cuba.

PRO: The embargo on Cuba was an effective policy to slow the spread of communism during the Cold War. But the Cold War is over. While the United States continues its embargo of this impoverished island, countries around the world are making money trading with Cuba. Trade with Cuba will promote economic and political reform faster and not deprive Cubans of basic goods.

CON: Fidel Castro has promoted revolutions in the Western Hemisphere and has violated the human rights of his people. He is a dangerous dictator, perched only ninety miles from the coast of the United States. Castro has become less of a threat only because the embargo is working. The United States should maintain the pressure until Castro resigns and true economic and political reform takes place.

The United States and Latin America Should Establish A Hemispheric Free-Trade Zone.

PRO: The United States and its Latin American neighbors should work together to extend free trade across the region. South America is potentially a huge market for American products, which may create more American jobs. In addition, free trade would dramatically improve Latin American economies and secure democracy and capitalism in the hemisphere.

CON: A U.S.–Latin America free-trade zone would mean little for the United States except a loss of national sovereignty and a mass exodus of American companies to Latin America. Furthermore, the United States should not extend free trade to nations with unstable economies or corrupt governments because their mismanagement could cost U.S. taxpayers money.

The United States Should Use Military Means to Combat The Latin American Drug Trade.

PRO: The cycle of addiction and violence created by the Latin American drug trade must be stopped. Only military intervention will put an end to drug-related crime in the United States and "narcoterrorism" in Latin America. Latin American governments have been corrupted by the drug cartels and cannot be counted on to address these problems adequately. Coordinating U.S. military efforts with other governments will help stop Latin American drug trafficking.

CON: Aiding military efforts in Latin America to combat drug trafficking will not solve the U.S. drug problem. Moreover, intervening in the military affairs of Latin American countries could strain relationships with these important trading partners. Drug trafficking will only subside when the demand for illegal drugs has been eliminated. The money to fight drugs would therefore be better spent on education and treatment programs in United States.

THE MIDDLE EAST

For the last fifty years, the Middle East has been torn apart by war and conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The 1948 birth of the Jewish state of Israel touched off a long period of violence, as armies from five Arab countries immediately invaded the new nation. Since then, Israel and the surrounding Arab states have fought four wars over land sacred to their histories and religions, resulting in thousands of deaths and deep-seated suspicion and mistrust. As Israel and its Arab neighbors wrestled for territories from pre-1948 Palestine, the Palestinians themselves were left without a homeland. Palestinians have campaigned for the creation of a separate Palestinian state for many years.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the United States support the establishment of a Palestinian state?
- Should the United States pressure Israel to return the Golan Heights to Syria?
- Should the United States lift its economic embargo against Iran?

Several nations, including the United States, have urged the Arabs and Israelis to make peace among their passionately divided peoples. After years of difficult negotiations, Israel signed historic peace agreements with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993 and with Jordan in 1994. Israeli and Arab leaders now face the overwhelming task of carrying out these peace plans while controlling extremist groups that violently oppose the initiatives.

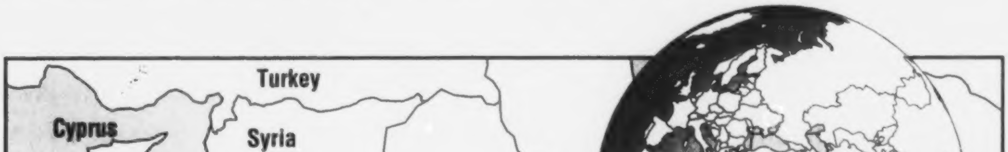
After the assassination of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin—an architect of the peace agreements—in 1995, Israelis elected a conservative prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. Throughout 1996, Netanyahu was slow to implement the remaining provisions of the 1993 peace plan, and Palestinians became frustrated. Acknowledging the long and difficult process, Middle East observers wondered if Israelis, Palestinians, and their Arab neighbors would remain committed to peace long enough to confront the most divisive issue—the future of the city of Jerusalem. Meanwhile, U.S. officials work to develop a comprehensive policy for the region, one that encompasses not only Arab-Israeli peace, but also other complex issues.

BACKGROUND

Key Players in the Middle East

Israel. Israel was formed from part of the Palestine Mandate—the territory of Palestine entrusted to Great Britain by the League of Nations following World War I. At that time, Palestine included areas now comprising most of present-day Jordan, Israel, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the Gaza Strip.

Modern Israel grew out of Zionism, a political movement founded in 1897 to establish a Jewish homeland free from persecution. Twenty years later, in the Balfour Declaration, the British government agreed in principle to a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Tens of thousands of Jews from around the world then began immigrating to Palestine, joining other Jews who had lived there for centuries. However, the Holocaust—the extermination of millions of European Jews by the Nazis before and during World War II—was the major


Turkey
Cyprus
Syria
Mediterranean Sea
Lebanon
Map Area
Iraq
Israel
Jordan
Kuwait
Iran
Occupied by Israel
Oman
Persian Gulf
250 Miles
Bahrain
Egypt
Qatar
Saudi Arabia
United Arab Emirates
Red Sea
Oman
Sudan

The Middle East Today

reason the United Nations (UN) decided to create a Jewish state. Israel, established in the section of Palestine west of the Jordan River, declared itself an independent nation on May 14, 1948.

The United States was one of the first nations to officially recognize the new Israel. U.S. support was an outgrowth of American cultural and religious ties to Jews, the feeling of a moral obligation to help them establish a homeland after the Holocaust, and the belief that the new Israeli government would be democratic. Today, the United States gives Israel, its most reliable ally in the Middle East, about $3 billion per year in foreign aid.

The Palestinians. The Palestinians are a people without a home. In 1921, the British gave two-thirds of Palestine to a non-Palestinian Arab king who then formed the kingdom of Jordan. When the western third of Palestine was partitioned after World War II, Egypt, Israel, and Jordan absorbed areas that had been intended to form a separate Palestinian state.

Conflicts in the Middle East have affected approximately 6 million Palestinians, who are now scattered throughout the region. Many live in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Other Palestinians have moved to Europe and North America.

The White House

After the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978, Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat, U.S. president Jimmy Carter, and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin (left to right) clasp hands. The agreement led to an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty and raised hopes that the Arab-Israeli conflict could be resolved.

In 1964, Palestinian leaders formed the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to lead the struggle for the establishment of their own state. The PLO has used both violence and diplomacy in its efforts. In 1974, the United Nations granted the PLO observer status, which allows it to participate as a nonvoting member in the UN General Assembly.

In accordance with the Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement of 1993, Palestinians created their own governing body, the Palestinian Authority (PA), with a president, legislature, and police force. In 1996, Yassir Arafat, leader of the PLO, was elected president of the Palestinian Authority. The PA oversees areas of Israeli-occupied territories that have been returned to Palestinian control under the 1993 accord.

Egypt. The modern Republic of Egypt—the most populous nation in the Middle East—was established in 1952, when King Farouk was overthrown in a coup led by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. President Nasser established close relations with the Soviet Union and, by exploiting strong anti-Israeli feelings, attempted, with little success, to unify other Arab nations into a United Arab Republic (UAR).

After Nasser died in 1970, Vice President Anwar el-Sadat became president and dramatically altered Egypt's policies. For example, he asked Soviet military advisers to leave in 1973, and in 1978 became the first Arab leader to negotiate peace with Israel. This overture caused most Arab countries to condemn Sadat; many broke relations with Egypt. In 1981, a group of Muslim fundamentalists assassinated the Egyptian president. Vice President Mohammad Hosni Mubarak replaced Sadat, and has led Egypt ever since.

Jordan. In 1921, Great Britain established the autonomous region of Transjordan from the eastern two-thirds of the Palestine Mandate. In 1946, Transjordan became an independent Arab kingdom. Transjordan annexed much of the area on the West Bank of the Jordan River and was renamed Jordan. Since 1952, Jordan has been ruled by King Hussein, who has generally steered a moderate course in the region.

Syria. Syria gained its independence from France in 1946. In 1958, Syria united with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic. Egypt quickly became dominant, however, and in 1961 the Syrians withdrew from the UAR. During the next decade Syria's government was unstable, until General Hafez al-Assad came to power in 1970. Assad, who is still president, improved his nation's relationship with the United States by joining the coalition fighting against Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Lebanon. A French colony until 1945, Lebanon is about 60 percent Muslim and 40 percent Christian. This population mix has made Lebanon more pro-Western than many of its neighbors, but it also has made the small country a powder keg. In the early 1970s, Lebanon exploded into civil war involving Christians, Muslims, the PLO, and Syrian "peacekeeping forces." Lebanon's civil war left the economy and much of the country in ruins. Rival groups representing all sides agreed to a power-sharing arrangement in 1989. Under this accord, Lebanese leaders are trying to set up an effective government. However, Syria maintains 35,000 troops in Lebanon, and has a strong influence over local politics. In 1996, Lebanon held its second parliamentary elections since the end of its civil war, but observers said that Syria might have manipulated the outcome to ensure the election of moderates who will answer to Syria.

Meanwhile, Israel has occupied a nine-mile-wide strip in southern Lebanon since 1978, and occasional fighting in that area continues. Israelis refer to the area as a "security zone," which they claim they need to defend themselves against military attacks by radical Islamic groups. However, Lebanese regard the presence of Israeli forces as an illegal occupation.

Iran. Iran is not an Arab country. Most Iranians are descendants of Persians, who ruled much of the Middle East for more than five centuries B.C. From the end of World War II until 1979, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi ruled Iran, and modernized his country with profits from an expanding oil industry. In 1979, religious fundamentalist revolutionaries seized power, and an exiled Shi'ite Muslim leader, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, became Iran's ruler.

Khomeini condemned the United States for supporting the shah, whom Khomeini said had corrupted Iran by "Westernizing" it and moving it away from strict Islamic observance. When Khomeini died in 1989, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani became Iran's president. Generally less antagonistic toward the United States, Rafsanjani has made economic and diplomatic overtures to Western industrialized countries. However, many observers believe Iran is intent on becoming the dominant military and religious power in the Middle East. In May 1997, Iranians voted for a new president.

THE U.S. MILITARY IN THE PERSIAN GULF

In November 1995 and June 1996, terrorist blasts killed twenty-four American troops based in Riyadh and Dharan, Saudi Arabia, prompting some Americans to call for the removal of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf. However, many policymakers point out that the United States has a strong national interest in ensuring reliable oil supplies and protecting U.S. allies, and a U.S. military presence is therefore necessary.

Iraq. Located in the "fertile crescent" between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers where Western civilization was born, Iraq's capital of Baghdad was long the center of Arab culture. From the seventeenth century until the end of World War I, the Ottoman Turks controlled Iraq. After World War I, Great Britain occupied Iraq under a League of Nations mandate. The British installed a king in 1932 but maintained strong influence over the government. In 1958, the king was overthrown in a military coup. The current Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, is not a military officer but is supported by his country's army.

In a 1980 territorial dispute, Iraq attacked its neighbor, Iran, beginning a war that lasted eight years. In 1990, Saddam Hussein's armies invaded a smaller neighbor, Kuwait, claiming that Kuwait was rightfully part of Iraq. A United States–led armed coalition expelled Iraq from Kuwait in early 1991, but Saddam Hussein has maintained leadership of Iraq.

Conflict in the Middle East

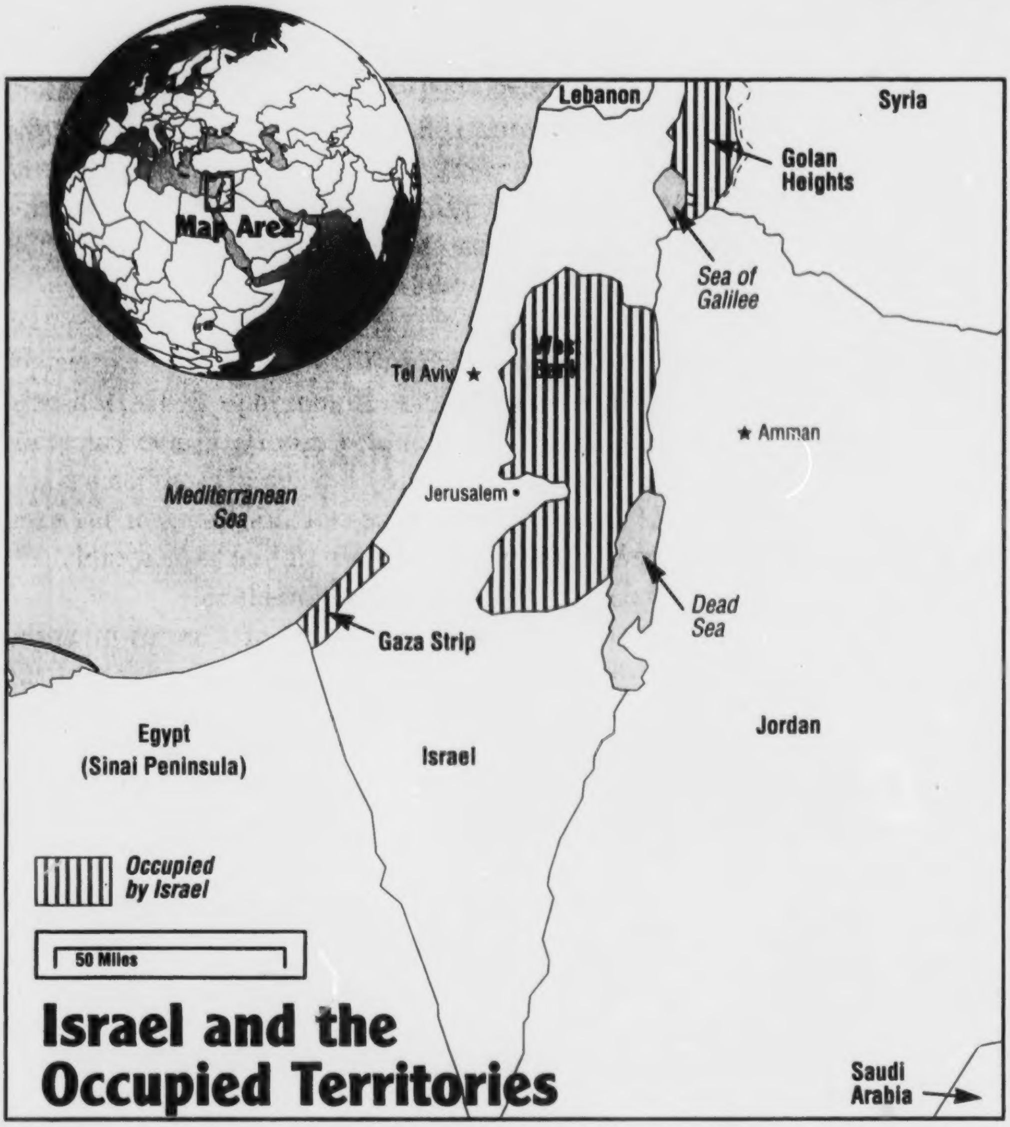
Establishment of Israel. The modern nation of Israel was born out of the 1947 United Nations partition plan, which proposed that two countries—one for Arabs and one for Jews—be formed from one territory, Palestine. Although it had been many centuries since Jews controlled Palestine, many Jews believed that the land was rightfully theirs, saying that God had given it to them thousands of years ago.

While most of the international community supported Israel's right to exist, few Arabs did. The land that the Arab people and their ancestors had occupied for centuries was suddenly given to another group of people. Many Arabs continue to view Israel as the intruder that took away the Palestinians' ancestral home.

On May 15, 1948, the day Israeli statehood took effect, soldiers from Egypt, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq crossed into the new nation, touching off the first Arab-Israeli war. The cease-fire lines of that war became Israel's tentative border. Since then, Israel and the surrounding area have been rocked by a series of wars.

The Six-Day War in 1967 is perhaps the most historic. Fearing that Egypt was preparing to attack, Israel launched a surprise attack on June 5, 1967, defeating Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. Over a period of six days, Israel captured the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the eastern half of Jerusalem.

UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. During the 1960s and 1970s, the United Nations adopted two resolutions attempting to establish the principles for a negotiated settlement in the Middle East. In 1967, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 242, calling for an end to all declarations of war and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from territories captured from the Arabs. In addition, Israel and the Arab states were to respect one another's independence and right to live in peace within secure and recognized bound-


Map Area
Lebanon
Syria
Golan Heights
Sea of Galilee
West Bank
Tel Aviv
Amman
Jerusalem
Mediterranean Sea
Dead Sea
Gaza Strip
Jordan
Egypt (Sinai Peninsula)
Israel
Occupied by Israel
50 Miles
Saudi Arabia

Israel and the Occupied Territories

aries. The resolution also called for a "just settlement" of the Palestinian refugee problem. UN Security Council Resolution 338, passed in 1973, states that the Resolution 242 proposals should be pursued through negotiations.

Egyptian-Israeli Peace. On November 19, 1977, Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat became the first Arab leader to visit Israel. Sadat's trip helped the Israeli and Egyptian peoples overcome some of the psychological barriers of fear, hatred, and suspicion between them.

In 1978, Sadat met with Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and U.S. president Jimmy Carter at the Camp David presidential retreat in Maryland. These talks led to the signing of an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1979, to end the thirty-one-year conflict between the two countries.

Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Since Israel was established in 1948, most Palestinians have fled Israeli-held areas to neighboring Arab territory. Some Palestinians have vowed to destroy Israel and establish a country of their own in its place. Others, however, are tired of the ravages of war and would like to peaceably settle the issue of a Palestinian homeland.

In December 1987, the first of a series of uprisings—known as the *intifada*—erupted to protest the presence of Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestinians wanted the Israelis to leave and allow them to establish a homeland. More than 800 people were killed in these battles, which ended in 1993.

In 1991 and 1992, U.S.–led efforts in Israeli-Palestinian peacekeeping on the West Bank and Gaza strip reached a stalemate. The Palestinians refused to accept Israel's offer of limited self-rule, and Israel insisted on settling the West Bank and Gaza Strip with newly arriving Jewish immigrants from Russia.

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Talks. Peace talks were revitalized after Yitzhak Rabin, a moderate, was elected Israeli prime minister in June 1992. With a new prime minister, Israel was able to reach a historic peace accord with the PLO in September 1993. The accord's two most important provisions included agreements to establish a five-year interim period of limited autonomy for Palestinians in the occupied territories and to withdraw Israeli forces from Palestinian areas of the West Bank. Those areas are to be policed by Palestinians and overseen by the newly created Palestinian Authority.

The White House

In October 1994, Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (left) and Jordan's King Hussein (right) signed a peace treaty that makes compromises on land disputes and water rights.

By early 1996, Israeli soldiers had left the Gaza Strip, as well as six cities and more than 400 towns in the West Bank. In January of that year, Palestinians held their first elections for a president and a national assembly in areas overseen by the Palestinian Authority. Yassir Arafat, leader of the PLO, was elected president.

While leaders began to implement the Israeli-PLO peace accord in 1994 and 1995, terrorist activity increased. Observers said that extremists on both sides aimed to destroy the peace plan. Tragically, in November 1995, Rabin was assassinated by an Israeli who opposed the peace process.

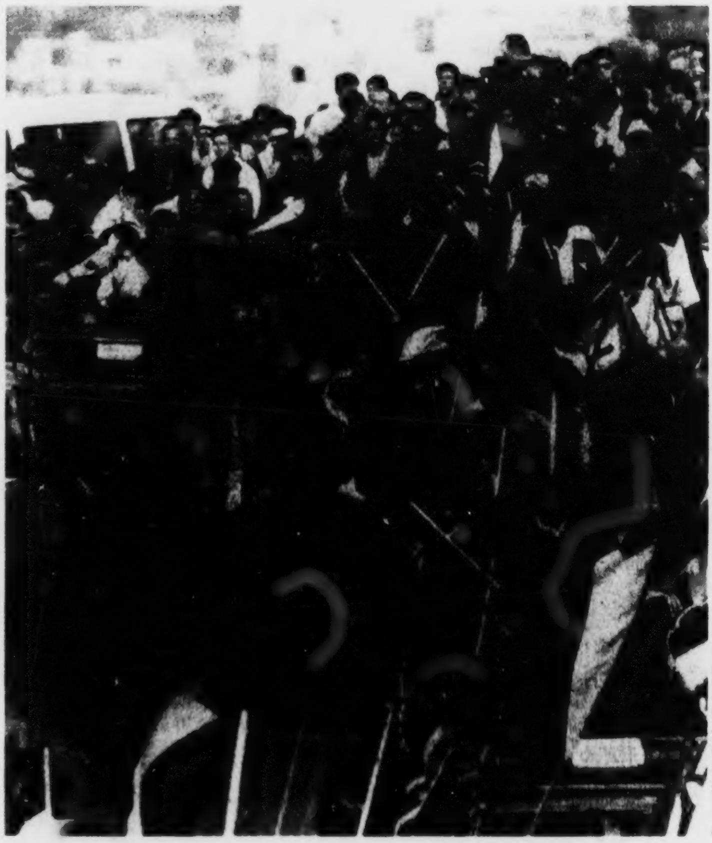
A New Leader in Israel. In May 1996, Israelis elected a member of the conservative Likud Party, Benjamin Netanyahu, as their new prime minister. Following his campaign rhetoric denouncing land-for-peace agreements with Arabs, Netanyahu slowed the process for returning some areas of the West Bank to Palestinian control. Meanwhile, he encouraged Israeli settlements in occupied territories, a policy that Arabs said violated previous agreements.

In September 1996, violence erupted after Israel opened a new tourist tunnel in Jerusalem near a site that is holy to both Jews and Muslims. This action sparked calls for a new *intifada* among Palestinians, who were increasingly frustrated at their worsening economy and the slow pace of Israeli withdrawals from the West Bank. Seventy people died in three days of fighting. These events prompted negotiators from several countries, including the United States and Jordan, to revive the deadlocked peace talks.

In January 1997, after a delay of almost a year, Israeli and Palestinian officials finally agreed to terms of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the city of Hebron on the West Bank. In a compromise, the parties allowed 80 percent of the city to be administered by the Palestinian Authority, while the remaining 20 percent—enclaves settled by 500 Jews—remains under

DEMOCRACY IN YEMEN

Yemen, the only democratic nation on the Arabian peninsula, struggles to mix Islam and democracy. At the end of the Cold War, North and South Yemen united in 1990. Once-socialist South Yemen is more liberal than the strict Muslim North, and some citizens fear that the government is now trying to force a more fundamentalist Islam on its people.



After long delays, Israeli soldiers finally left most of the West Bank city of Hebron in January 1997. Shown here are Palestinians welcoming Yassir Arafat (center, with hand raised) to newly-freed Hebron. At that time, Israelis had returned about 30 percent of the West Bank to full or partial Palestinian control. Israeli soldiers had also left the Gaza Strip.

Reuters/Jim Hollander/Archive Photos

Israeli control. Netanyahu also agreed to withdraw from more areas of the West Bank by mid-1998.

Nevertheless, renewed violence in March 1997 threatened to curtail the peace process entirely. Netanyahu broke ground for new Israeli settlements in the East Jerusalem area of Har Homa, even though East Jerusalem remained the most hotly contested part of the peace process. In response, Palestinian extremists renewed terrorist attacks in Israel, and violence increased between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers on the West Bank.

The Persian Gulf War. In August 1990, Iraqi troops invaded neighboring Kuwait, taking over that prosperous country's oil fields. After economic embargoes failed to force Iraq out of Kuwait, the United Nations authorized its members to "use all necessary means" to make Iraqi troops withdraw after January 15, 1991.

One day after the deadline passed, U.S.–led allied forces began bombing targets in Iraq and Kuwait, defeating Iraq within a month. In April 1991, Iraq accepted the United Nations cease-fire resolution, which stated that the August 1990 sanctions on Iraqi oil exports would remain in place until Iraq met the requirements of the resolution.

In October 1995, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization reported that the economic embargo against Iraq had resulted in widespread malnutrition. Nevertheless, that same month, Saddam Hussein won an election, making him president for an additional seven years. After a long period of negotiations, in December 1996, the UN embargo against Iraq was partially lifted. For the first time since 1990, the United Nations allowed Iraq to sell some of its oil to raise $2 billion for food and other humanitarian supplies.

CURRENT ISSUES

Establishment of a Palestinian Homeland. After nearly a year in office, Prime Minister Netanyahu moderated his stance against land-for-peace plans, agreeing to an Israeli pullout from Hebron. Ultraconservative Jews denounced the agreement, arguing that the prime minister had contradicted his promise to keep biblical Israel under Israeli control. At the same time, many Arabs were outraged at Arafat's concession allowing 20 percent of Hebron to remain under Israeli control. These viewpoints underscore the divisive debates within both Israeli and Palestinian groups that jeopardize the future of the peace negotiations. At the heart of these talks are Palestinian aspirations toward statehood.

Palestinian officials expect that they will eventually be given full autonomy over the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Yassir Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian Authority, believes the 1993 agreement with Israel sows the seeds of full Palestinian statehood. However, Israeli leaders have historically opposed that idea. Some Israeli leaders have suggested that Palestinians form a confederation with Jordan or even Israel.

Reuters/Havakuk Levison/Archive Photos

In March 1997, bulldozers cleared land in the East Jerusalem area of Har Homa to begin building new housing for Jews. Shown here are Israeli soldiers protecting the construction site and crew. Arab leaders claimed that new settlements violate earlier peace agreements. Consequently, terrorism and violence reignited, and the peace process was seriously endangered.

Nevertheless, many Palestinians reject the idea of relying on another nation for their economic and military survival. Some Palestinians would be dissatisfied with anything less than total independence and might continue to fight Israel. However, a Palestinian state in Gaza and on the West Bank might not survive on its own because the area is small, lacks a strong agricultural or industrial base, and has few natural resources.

Israeli and Palestinian officials hope to resolve the statehood conflict during special negotiations that are scheduled to finish within five years of the 1993 peace accord. However, such questions raise the sensitive issue of who will control the holy city of Jerusalem, the most difficult—and possibly the most inflammatory—aspect of the peace process. Israelis want the city to stay united and become their capital. However, Palestinians view East Jerusalem, a mostly Arab section of the city that Israel captured during the 1967 war, as their future capital.

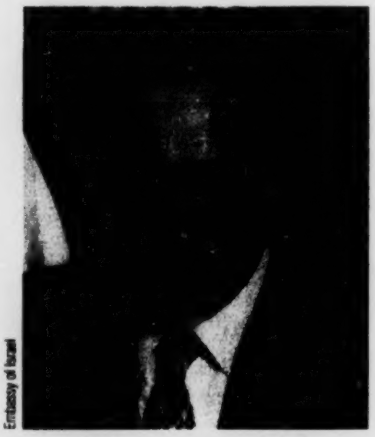
Israel and the Golan Heights. Another obstacle to long-lasting Middle East peace is Israel's occupation of territories captured from Syria and other Arab nations during the Six-Day War in 1967. Syria has always argued that Israel's occupation of the Golan Heights violates international law forbidding nations from gaining territory by military force. The Syrians maintain that they have rightful sovereignty over the Golan Heights, and they demand a complete Israeli withdrawal.

Israeli leaders argue that the Golan Heights is especially crucial to their country's defense. For many years, its military has contended that it cannot afford to lose control over the mountains that overlook Israeli coastal cities just a few miles away. The Israeli government has long maintained that it will hold the occupied territories until the signing of a comprehensive peace settlement that guarantees the long-term safety of Israel.

The United States has taken an active role in promoting an accord between Israel and Syria. President Bill Clinton held negotiating sessions with Syrian president Assad and Israeli prime minister Rabin in 1993 and 1995, but without success. As of early 1997, Prime Minister Netanyahu had not revived negotiations with Syria, claiming he would not consider a withdrawal from the Golan Heights.

Critics believe that the United States is overly optimistic about Syria's commitment to peace. Some experts say Assad is linked with terrorists, and supports radical Islamic groups that attack Israeli troops in southern Lebanon. These critics argue that the Clinton administration is pressuring Israel into signing an agreement with Syria, a nation many believe cannot be trusted.

Many U.S. officials concede that Assad may have sponsored terrorist activities. Nevertheless, they argue that Israeli leaders must negotiate separate peace agreements with all of Israel's Arab neighbors, including Syria, if they


Embassy of Israel

The 1996 election of Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu (shown here) signaled that Israelis wanted a slower, more cautious approach to the peace process. Netanyahu stresses Israeli security over land-for-peace agreements with Arabs.

hope to achieve lasting peace in the region. Moreover, supporters of an Israeli-Syrian peace accord maintain that negotiating with secular Arab leaders is better than dealing with Islamic militants who might pose greater threats to world peace.

Relations with Iran. In November 1979, workers at the U.S. embassy in the Iranian capital of Tehran were taken hostage by fundamentalist revolutionaries and held for more than a year. That event prompted a break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Iran. As part of their anti-American rhetoric, leading fundamentalist clerics—called mullahs—referred to the United States as the "Great Satan." In the mid-1990s, the U.S. State Department reported that Iran was the "premier state sponsor of international terrorism." Moreover, Iran is building a formidable military machine, possibly including nuclear arms, through weapons imports from China, India, and Russia. Iran's buildup jeopardizes stability along important shipping lanes in the Persian Gulf.

To pressure the Iranian government, the United States has employed trade embargoes and sanctions.

CP Photo/Sayyad

Lifting the trade embargoes on Iran is a contentious issue. While some Americans think that U.S. businesses are losing out on lucrative contracts, others point to anti-American protests, such as the one shown here, as examples of Iranian hostility.

In 1987, the United States banned the import of Iranian oil and the export of high-technology equipment to Iran. In 1995, the Clinton administration prohibited U.S. companies from buying Iranian oil for sale to third countries. Moreover, in response to Iran's terrorist ties, in 1996, the United States imposed sanctions to penalize foreign companies that invest more than $40 million in Iran.

Yet by that year, Iran's Islamic revolution seemed at a crossroads. Elections for a new parliament were marked by dissent between moderates and fundamentalists, indicating a trend toward the liberalization of Iranian society. Consequently, during 1996 and early 1997, foreign policy experts were questioning the advantages of the U.S. policy of "containment" toward Tehran.

Those who support a new engagement with Iran point out that the United States shares with the large Middle Eastern country a strong national interest in the oil-rich Persian Gulf region, an interest that may compel dialogue at some point. Similarly, if Iran hopes to continue its plans for development and modernization, it will rely on technological advances introduced by American companies. Therefore, proponents think that trade between the two countries would be mutually beneficial and might give the United States influence in Iranian society. Furthermore, supporters think that Iran has lost some of its revolutionary zeal and become more pragmatic. Thus, they believe that if the United States lifted the trade embargo, the U.S. government might cautiously engage in talks with Iranian leaders to try to encourage this shift.

On the other hand, many Americans see no reason to suspend the embargo against Iran. Though they acknowledge that trade embargoes do not necessarily force change, opponents of lifting it believe that such tools tell regimes that other countries disapprove of their actions. Thus, they believe that keeping the embargo in place might deter further terrorism. Moreover, opponents think that the embargo should only be lifted when Iran proves it has changed. Critics of constructive engagement point out that European countries have pursued a similar policy with Iran with sometimes disastrous results. Furthermore, critics say that in light of Iran's military buildup, the United States should be doing more to control Iran, not less. Recognizing Iran, or even conducting unofficial talks, would reward their hard-line anti-American rhetoric and would legitimize their unacceptable policies.

OUTLOOK

The task of bringing peace to the Middle East is complicated by many factors—hundreds of years of religious and ethnic conflicts, as well as modern-day nuclear ambitions. Implementation of new peace agreements between Israel and the Palestinians will continue to pose challenges for Middle Eastern people as the most contentious issues—Israel's borders and East Jerusalem—are addressed. Moreover, while the future of U.S. policy regarding Iran is unclear, American policymakers will almost certainly have to deal with this country in one way or another, particularly as its modernization continues. Most observers agree that the United States needs to develop a comprehensive Middle East policy so that it can deal with not only Arab-Israeli peace, but also many other complex, but related, issues in the region.

THE DEBATE: THE MIDDLE EAST

The United States Should Support the Establishment Of a Palestinian State.

PRO: The Arab-Israeli conflict will never be resolved until a Palestinian state is established. Such a state would meet the Palestinians' demands to govern themselves. The United States should support the spirit of the original United Nations partition plan, which calls for the establishment of two nations, one Arab and one Jewish.

CON: Creating a Palestinian state will not solve the problems in the Middle East. Some Palestinians are firmly committed to taking back the territory that is now Israel. They are likely to use a Palestinian state as a staging ground for terrorist attacks, and they might eventually use a Palestinian state to destroy and retake Israel.

The United States Should Pressure Israel to Return The Golan Heights to Syria.

PRO: International law forbids one nation from taking the land of another through war. In a 1967 war, Israel seized the Golan Heights, which rightly belongs to Syria. Even the United Nations has demanded that Israel withdraw. Yet Israel has openly supported settlements by Israeli citizens in this contested region. Israel should begin a partial withdrawal as a gesture of peace.

CON: The occupied territories are Israel's only bargaining chips, and Israel has the right to exchange land for peace. While Syria might be willing to negotiate, U.S. leaders should not pressure Israel into surrendering the Golan Heights to a country that has threatened to destroy it. Israel should keep the territories until Syria denounces terrorism and formally recognizes Israel.

The United States Should Lift Its Economic Embargo Against Iran.

PRO: Iran and the United States have an interest in a stable Persian Gulf region with free-flowing oil supplies. Moreover, modernization in Iran depends on using high-technology equipment from the West, an industry that the United States leads. During the Cold War, the United States maintained relations with the Soviet Union while it attempted to "contain" communism. Similarly, the United States could more constructively influence events in Iran by easing the embargo and renewing cautious talks.

CON: Iran is the primary sponsor of international terrorism in the world. It has tried to derail Arab-Israeli peace plans and it may have sponsored attacks on U.S. soldiers in Saudi Arabia. To ease the embargo or engage in unofficial talks with Iran would acknowledge that their terrorist tactics are acceptable and successful tools of international relations. No matter how much Iran "modernizes," the United States knows from Europe's experience that "constructive engagement" often fails with the untrustworthy regime in Tehran.

RUSSIA

In 1991, the Soviet Union officially dissolved, marking the end of communist rule and paving the way for democracy in Russia and the other former Soviet republics. Soon after the collapse, Russians elected Boris Yeltsin—a prodemocracy, procapitalism candidate—as their president. The international community was cautiously optimistic that Yeltsin would be able to establish a democratic political system and revitalize a Russian economy ravaged by seventy years of communist rule.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Should the United States continue to support Boris Yeltsin?
- Should the United States send economic aid to Russia?
- Should the United States negotiate nuclear disarmament with Russia?

Although much has been achieved during Russia's transition, problems abound. The economy suffers from high unemployment, and many of those with jobs are not being paid. Organized crime and drug abuse are on the rise. Frustrated with economic hardship, some Russians yearn for the security they once had under the old communist system. As a result, in 1995, Russian voters elected a large number of legislators from the Communist Party, giving it the most seats in the Russian parliament.

Challenged by a strong Communist candidate, President Yeltsin had to stage a runoff election to regain the presidency in 1996. But troubles soon emerged. After initial success in negotiating a cease-fire in the breakaway republic of Chechnya, the Russian president's health problems undermined public confidence in his leadership.

In early 1997, Yeltsin resumed his presidential duties and appointed more aggressive free-market reformers to his cabinet. At the same time, widespread protests demanding the payment of overdue wages and pensions raised doubts about the Russian public's willingness to withstand greater financial hardship. U.S. officials are concerned about rising nationalism, public unrest, and the future of economic reform in Russia. In light of these problems, many Americans believe the United States must rethink its policies toward a country so central to European stability.

BACKGROUND

The Cold War, 1945–90

Origins of the Cold War. The World War II alliance of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union quickly deteriorated over the issue of what form of government was to be established in eastern Europe. Having been invaded by Germany twice in less than twenty-five years, the Soviets believed that controlling eastern Europe was essential to their security. After the war, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin set up communist regimes in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania to serve as a buffer against any potential future invasion from the west. Germany was divided into communist and noncommunist areas, and the Soviet Union cut off access and communication between eastern and western Europe. The "Iron Curtain" had been erected. The United States protested Soviet domination of eastern Europe, and developed a policy to contain further communist expansion. These events marked the beginning of the Cold War—a conflict fought with propaganda, arms buildups, and attempts to gain allies through the use of economic and military aid.

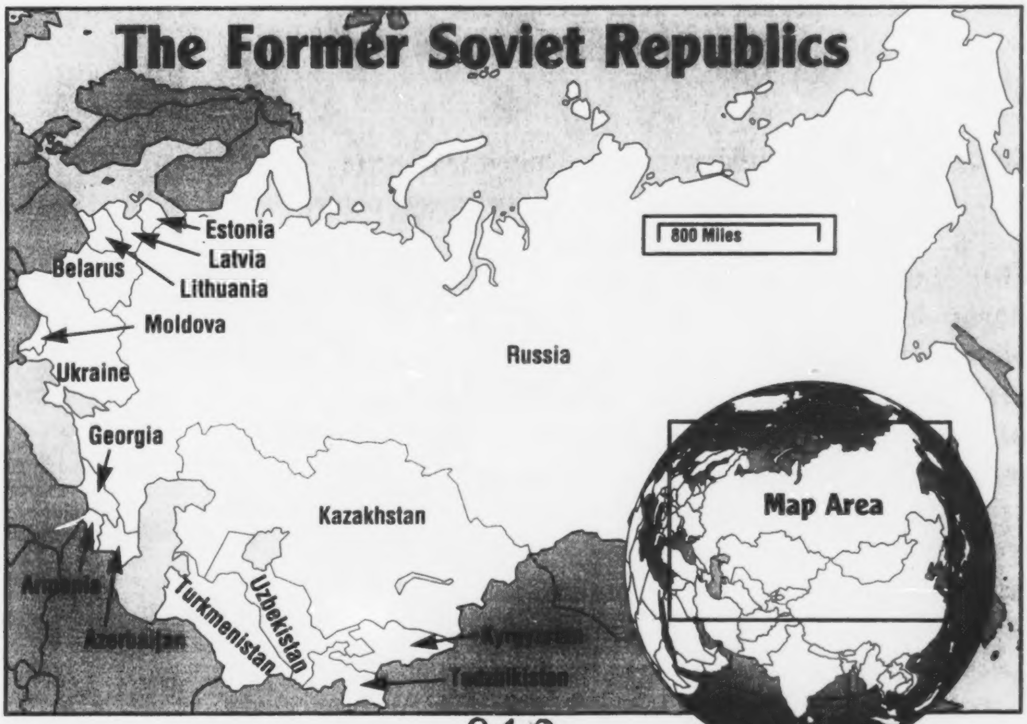
U.S. Policy of Containment. The United States tried to prevent further expansion of communism by "containing" it in areas that were already Soviet-controlled. Containment was carried out on three fronts: (1) economic aid to rebuild western Europe; (2) military assistance to governments challenged by communists; and (3) creation in 1949 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to serve as a security curtain around western Europe.

In response to containment, the Soviet Union tightened its grip on eastern Europe. Soviet troops were stationed in Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, and Romania to ensure that the leaders of those countries remained loyal to Moscow. Seven years after NATO was formed, the Soviets and their eastern

European allies formed the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance similar to NATO.

The Domino Theory. The United States and the Soviet Union were committed to defending their respective spheres of influence. Many U.S. leaders believed in the domino theory, which held that if one country fell to communism, its neighbors would soon follow. In 1949, the Soviet Union gained influence in Asia by becoming allies with Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong. In 1950, the Soviets backed a communist North Korean invasion of South Korea, prompting the United States to send troops as the largest part of a United Nations force to repel the invasion. Although the war ended in stalemate, the United States demonstrated that it would fight communist aggression around the world.

Throughout much of the 1960s and early 1970s, the Soviets backed North Vietnam in its fight to unify Vietnam under communist rule. The United States helped defend South Vietnam with troops and military aid, but in 1975, communists took over South Vietnam, thereby extending Soviet influence in Southeast Asia.


The Former Soviet Republics
Estonia
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Russia
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Kazakhstan
Map Area
Armenia
Azerbaijan
Turkmenistan
Uzbekistan
Kyrgyzstan
Tadzhikistan

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In 1961, President John Kennedy and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev met in Vienna, Austria, to discuss the division of Berlin and the nuclear arms race.

The Cuban Missile Crisis. When communist revolutionary Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba in 1959, he soon turned to the Soviet Union for support. In October 1962, the United States discovered that the Soviet Union was secretly constructing launching pads for nuclear missiles in Cuba. For seven days, President John Kennedy and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev engaged in a tense standoff. Nuclear confrontation appeared imminent. Finally, the Soviets agreed to dismantle the missile sites in Cuba. The scare of the Cuban missile crisis created a thaw in the Cold War and prompted the two superpowers to sign a treaty limiting tests of nuclear weapons.

The 1970s and Détente. Détente (a French word meaning "a relaxation of tensions") reflected the belief that both the United States and the Soviet Union would benefit from maximizing cooperation and minimizing conflict. Between 1972 and 1974, the two nations signed eleven agreements to cooperate in space exploration, agriculture, health, environmental protection, and other areas. Trade opened up, and American corporations and banks established offices in Moscow.

SALT I. The centerpiece of détente was the first Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) Treaty, signed by President Richard Nixon and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev in 1972. The most important part of the SALT I agreement was its limitation of antiballistic missile (ABM) systems designed to intercept and destroy enemy missiles before they reach their targets.

Helsinki Accords. In 1975, leaders from the United States, the Soviet Union, Canada, and thirty-five European countries signed the Helsinki Accords. Under this set of agreements, the West—led by the United States—officially recognized the post–World War II borders of eastern Europe. In return, the Soviet Union promised to increase intellectual freedom and human rights within the eastern bloc.

SALT II. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter and Premier Brezhnev signed the second Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) Treaty. However, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, President Carter withdrew the treaty from consideration by the Senate and boycotted the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. The Soviets felt betrayed, and U.S.–Soviet relations deteriorated.

New Soviet Leadership. After a tense beginning of the decade, U.S.–Soviet relations entered a historic phase in 1985. In March of that year, Mikhail Gorbachev became the new Soviet leader. Gorbachev estab-

RUSSIA DURING THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

In 1917, Russia was in a state of turmoil, brought on by poverty, labor unrest, and the bloodshed of World War I. The majority of Russians were serfs—peasants who served wealthy landowners—and the country's economy lagged far behind those of western Europe and the United States. Russia's czars led luxurious lives and held absolute, unrestricted power. Led by Vladimir Lenin, the Bolsheviks (later renamed the Communist Party) capitalized on the social unrest and public disapproval of the czar and staged the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Lenin's followers overthrew Czar Nicholas II, and implemented sweeping reforms based on the economic theories of Karl Marx. The Soviet Union was created in 1922.

Novosti Press Agency

After becoming leader of the Soviet Union in March 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev introduced historic economic and social reforms. These reforms triggered independence movements across the Soviet republics, leading to the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991.

lished more friendly and flexible relations with the United States, other communist states, and the Soviet people. He also introduced the policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring), both designed to slowly introduce the Soviet Union to democratic ideals and economic reforms. The results turned the Soviet Union away from its hard-line communist past and closer to a free-market, democratic future.

Gorbachev met several times with President Ronald Reagan to improve relations between their two countries. In 1987, the two leaders signed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, the first major arms control agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union in eight years.

Communism Falls in Eastern Europe. In 1989, communist governments in six eastern European countries gave up power after thousands of their citizens demonstrated in favor of democracy and free-market economies. Premier Gorbachev refrained from sending in troops to keep the communists in power as other

Soviet leaders had done in the past. The Berlin Wall—separating East and West Berlin—was torn down in front of crowds of cheering spectators. The Soviets later agreed to allow the unification of East and West Germany. In 1991, Gorbachev disbanded the Warsaw Pact.

The Breakup of the Soviet Union, 1990–91

Economic and Political Turmoil. Mikhail Gorbachev's popularity at home suffered as the Soviet economy grew worse because of incredibly high rates of inflation, obsolete factories, food shortages, and an unstable currency. Despite the Soviet leader's introduction of limited free-market reforms, the inefficient centrally controlled economy remained largely intact.

Gorbachev opened the political system to allow parties opposed to communist rule to compete in local elections. Prodemocracy candidates won major victories in 1990 elections. Former Moscow Communist Party chief Boris Yeltsin, who was in favor of democratic and economic reforms, was elected president of the Soviet republic of Russia and became Gorbachev's chief political rival.

Also in 1990, independence movements swept through the Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. When Lithuania and Latvia attempted to break away from the Soviet Union, they received world-

NATO EXPANSION

In July 1997, NATO allies were due to extend full membership to the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary. However, Russian leaders vehemently opposed the plans because they thought that an enlarged NATO would compromise Russia's security. Supporters of NATO expansion countered that the alliance aims to conduct peacekeeping exercises and negotiate arms control agreements, not carry out aggressive military maneuvers. At their March 1997 summit in Helsinki, Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin agreed to disagree on the NATO enlargement issue, stating that they wished to "minimize the consequences of this disagreement."

wide support. However, Gorbachev refused to recognize their actions, and Soviet troops were sent to crack down on the growing independence movements. These events demonstrated that it was going to be difficult for Gorbachev to strike a balance between promoting democracy in the Soviet Union and keeping the union together.

The August Coup. By early 1991, six Soviet republics had declared independence. Meanwhile, the nine remaining republics demanded more autonomy. Hard-line communists were disturbed over the direction the Soviet Union was taking. Eastern Europe was no longer under Soviet control, free-market economics threatened to dismantle communism, and the union of socialist republics was in jeopardy. In August 1991, hard-line communists in the government staged a coup, arresting Gorbachev and taking control of the country. Russian president Yeltsin immediately mobilized opposition in Moscow, which spread throughout the country. After only three days, the coup collapsed. Gorbachev returned to power, but his authority and credibility as a leader had been irreparably damaged.

More republics announced their independence after the failed coup. Yeltsin, a national hero, was seen as the leader who could guide the republics toward independence and economic and political renewal.

The Commonwealth of Independent States. Although Mikhail Gorbachev was prepared to give the republics even more autonomy, he hoped to hold the Soviet Union together. However, on December 21, 1991, Russia's Yeltsin and the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus created the Commonwealth of Independent States and declared that the Soviet Union no longer existed. Gorbachev announced his resignation as the last leader of the Soviet Union on December 25, 1991, and relinquished control of the nuclear arsenal to Yeltsin. Eventually, eleven of the fifteen former Soviet republics joined the Commonwealth of Independent States. The republics pledged to implement free-market economic reforms, respect the territorial integrity of the other states, and guarantee their citizens equal rights and freedoms. Western nations immediately recognized the governments of Russia and the other former Soviet republics.

Economic and Political Chaos in Russia

Yeltsin vs. Parliament. In 1992 and 1993, Boris Yeltsin took steps to turn Russia into a democratic and economically prosperous member of the international community. However, his free-market economic reforms did little to ease inflation and unemployment, creating social unrest throughout the country. Communist hard-liners in the Russian parliament challenged Yeltsin's presidential authority and made it virtually impossible, many believed, for economic and democratic progress to be made.

The conflict between Yeltsin and the Russian parliament emerged immediately after Yeltsin took office in 1992. Instead of calling for new parliamentary elections, he chose to leave in place a legislature that had been elected in 1990, when the Communist Party still dominated Russian politics. From the outset of Yeltsin's presidency, he fought with communists and nationalists in the parliament who were opposed to his economic and democratic reforms. Some reformers in the Russian government wanted to give Yeltsin special powers to push through his economic program. But hard-liners said the balance of power should rest with the parliament.

Siege on Parliament. The hard-liners in the parliament, led by Alexander Rutskoi, vowed never to surrender their power, and even rolled back some of Boris Yeltsin's reforms. The tensions between the Russian president and the antireform politicians escalated into a dramatic showdown in the fall of 1993, when Yeltsin dissolved the parliament and announced elections for new members. Parliament responded by voting to impeach Yeltsin and naming Rutskoi as acting president. Rutskoi and his supporters barricaded themselves in the Russian parliament building. The standoff

RUSSIA'S REGIONAL ELECTIONS

From September through December 1996, elections for local offices were held in fifty-two of Russia's eighty-nine regions. Prior to these elections, governors had been chosen by the president. Now that voters have spoken, local leaders have an independent political base. Experts believe that these new governors might become more aggressive in challenging central government officials. As a result, analysts think that the biggest battles in the near future may not be between communists and reformers, but rather between Moscow and the country's varied and sometimes remote regions.

ended when Russian troops took over the building and arrested Rutskoi and his supporters.

Because the old parliament had been eliminated, the West hoped that Yeltsin would now be able to consolidate his power and push through economic and democratic reforms without fear of another political uprising. Before Russia could embark on more reform, however, a new and pro-Yeltsin parliament had to be elected by the people.

Parliamentary and Presidential Elections. As promised, Boris Yeltsin held elections in December 1993. In those elections, Russian voters approved a new constitution that gave the Russian president expanded powers. However, in the parliamentary elections, Russia's Choice, Yeltsin's reform party, came in second to the Liberal Democratic Party led by Yeltsin's opponent Vladimir Zhirinovsky. The Communist Party followed close behind in third place. In the 1995 elections, the Communist Party prevailed, winning 157 of 355 seats—enough to make them the strongest party in parliament.

The resurgence of this "new communism" and Zhirinovsky's ultranationalism—both with supporters who generally oppose extensive cooperation with the West—was seen as a sign that the Russian people were growing weary of Yeltsin's reforms. The 1996 presidential election was a race between President Yeltsin; the Communist candidate, Gennady Zyuganov; and several other candidates. Neither Yeltsin or Zyuganov won an absolute majority (more than 50 percent of the vote), so runoff elections were scheduled for July. Many other candidates, including General Alexander Lebed, supported Yeltsin in the runoff. Yeltsin easily defeated Zyuganov to win another presidential term. For his support, Lebed was rewarded with the cabinet post of national security chief.

War in Chechnya. For many years, long before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the predominantly Muslim region of Chechnya (located in southern Russia) had resisted rule from Moscow. The region's bid for official independence began in August 1994, when the proindependence Congress of the Chechen People clashed with the Moscow-backed Provisional Council, which wanted Chechnya to remain a part of Russia. To crack down on the independence movement, Yeltsin, in December 1994 and January 1995, sent in more than 40,000 Russian troops and armored vehicles to suppress Chechen fighters. Thousands of people died.

The Russian army could not contain the rebellion, which was led by a group of unorganized guerrilla forces. Hard-liners in parliament accused Yeltsin of weakness. Consequently, in 1996 he authorized several military actions against the rebels.

In August 1996, Russia's security chief, Alexander Lebed, intervened. By the end of the month, he had negotiated a controversial cease-fire to the bloody war that had left as many 80,000 people dead. According to the settlement, the issue of Chechnya's independence will be determined in five years. The last of the Russian troops withdrew in January 1997. That same month, Chechnya held elections for parliament and president, with all presidential candidates supporting independence.

Economic Chaos. Because almost none of the basic institutions of a free-market economy—such as private ownership, regulations for business and industry, and banking and loan procedures—were in place when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, Russia has had to start

Reuters/Pawel Kopczynski/Archive Photos

Stating that "a pauper country cannot afford the luxury of war," National Security Chief Alexander Lebed negotiated peace in the war in Chechnya. A 1996 candidate for president, Lebed is considered to be Russia's most popular political figure. Lebed was later fired from his cabinet post but remains a potential successor to President Yeltsin.

from scratch. Russia has had to contend with aging factories, the loss of raw materials to the now-independent republics that had previously supplied the Soviet Union's resources, and a workforce unaccustomed to the perils of wage fluctuation and job insecurity associated with capitalism. These and other problems have been disastrous for the Russian economy. The unemployment rate in Russia is high, and there has been such a shortage of cash that many companies pay their workers with goods rather than money. Experts claim that if all employers had to pay out cash wages, the unemployment rate would skyrocket.

To address these economic emergencies, President Boris Yeltsin introduced economic "shock therapy"—radical measures to quickly transform Russia's centrally controlled economy into a free-market system. However, the policies have come under fire by many Russians who charge that they are too drastic and have created more problems than they have solved.

Lifting Price Controls. The emphasis of economic shock therapy is on lifting state price controls. Under communism, the government determined what products would be produced, for whom they would be produced, and at what price. Lifting price controls lets the free-market principle of supply and demand dictate what goods are produced and how much they will cost. Yeltsin hoped the move would promote competition and coax more goods into the stores. However, when controls were lifted on January 2, 1992, prices rose dramatically, and inflation peaked at an astronomically high 2,500 percent. Although it has decreased considerably, inflation was still growing at about 20 percent annually by late 1996. Russians complain that although the free-market economy has made more goods available, they cannot afford to buy them. Some of Yeltsin's opponents call his economic shock therapy a failure, and want to reinstate price controls to curb inflation.

Privatization. President Yeltsin also implemented an ambitious privatization program to sell state-owned assets to Russian citizens and encourage worker ownership and entrepreneurship. An underlying purpose of the privatization plan was to build public support for Yeltsin's programs, but the results have been mixed. While privatization has promoted entrepreneurship throughout Russia—70 percent of Russia's businesses

Archive Photos/Reuters/Dima Korotayev

In March 1997, millions of Russians went on strike and staged a nationwide demonstration to demand their overdue wages and pensions. It was the largest antigovernment protest since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

are now privately owned—only 5 percent of agricultural holdings have been converted to family-owned farms. In some instances, the process of transferring government-owned businesses to private ownership has been corrupted. The largest and most inefficient state-owned industries have yet to be privatized because the communist era left behind a number of monopolies that have proved difficult to dismantle.

By 1996, a large portion of the Russian population believed that the transition to a free-market system was not worth the pain it was inflicting on the country. In the face of this criticism, Yeltsin slowed down some of his reform efforts.

Yet by early 1997, Russia's economic problems seemed to have multiplied. Millions of older Russians were months late in receiving their pensions, and 60 percent of Russia's workforce had been unpaid for some period of time. By the end of January, workers were due $9 billion in overdue wages, and pensioners were owed $3 billion. At the heart of these problems were corruption and the government's difficulty collecting taxes. In March 1997, Yeltsin appointed new, reform-minded cabinet members to help plan a more effective tax system. Economists believe that if tax collection is not improved soon, social unrest and growing nationalism could jeopardize further reforms and send the country into chaos.

CURRENT ISSUES

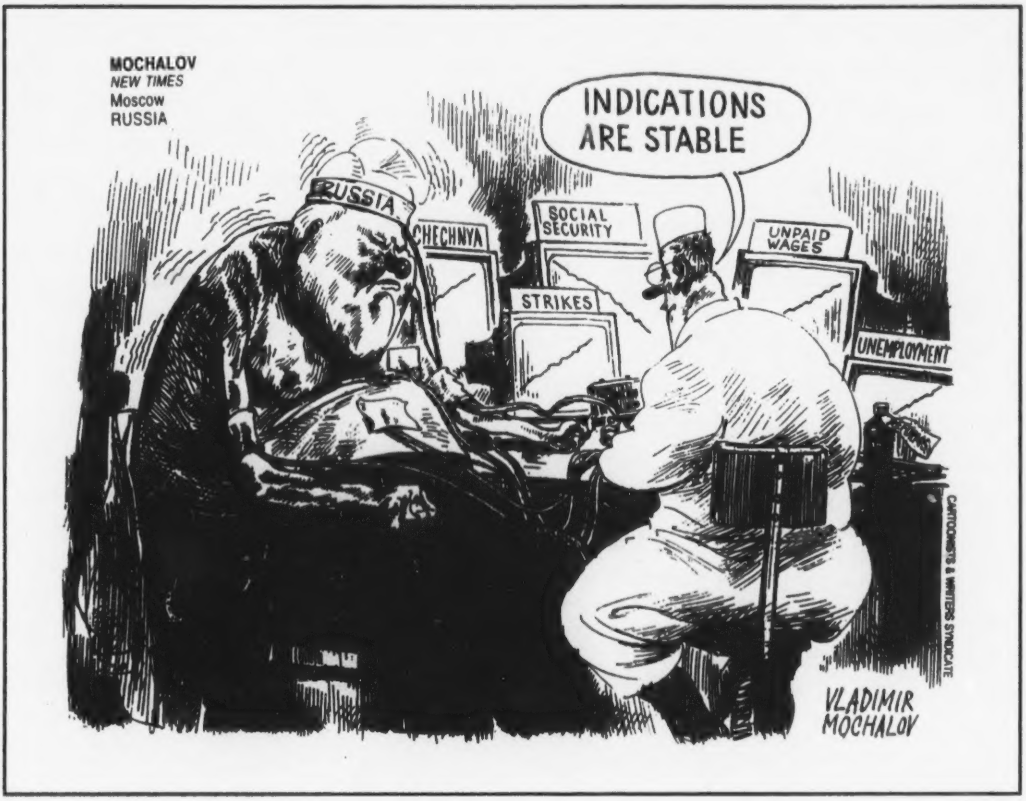
U.S. Support of Boris Yeltsin. When Boris Yeltsin became president of Russia in 1991, the United States viewed him as Russia's best hope for democracy. Although hard-liners in the Russian parliament have challenged his power and questioned his fitness for office, the United States and other Western nations have stood behind the Russian president.

After his reelection in 1996, Yeltsin underwent heart bypass surgery. While Yeltsin was recuperating, economic reforms slowed down, and Russian citizens continued to complain about rising crime, unemployment, and delays in receiving their wages and pensions. Despite Yeltsin's cabinet reshuffling and his successful surgery, many U.S. lawmakers were already reevaluating their support for the Russian president.

Critics say that Yeltsin is becoming increasingly antidemocratic, as evidenced by his harsh military actions in the past against the rebels in Chechnya. This concern, combined with Yeltsin's health problems, his dwindling allies in parliament, and social unrest, makes him a vulnerable leader. Critics wonder at what point the Clinton administration will withdraw or at least modify its support of Yeltsin should he become more authoritarian—or even obsolete, as antireform groups continue to gain support. They believe the Clinton administration should begin establishing ties with moderates in the Russian government, and abandon Yeltsin before it is too late.

Supporters of the current U.S. policy toward Russia argue that the economic measures taken by Yeltsin will eventually succeed, and the United States should support him through this difficult time. Backing away from Yeltsin, many experts argue, will weaken him politically at home and only help his communist, ultranationalist, and anti-American opponents. Although his actions have been antidemocratic at times, stopping breakaway republics like Chechnya from seceding will create a more stable democracy and economy in the long term. Supporters of President Clinton's policy argue that there is currently no real alternative to Boris Yeltsin in Russia, and that the United States should support him unless he completely abandons democracy and capitalism.

Economic Aid. In January 1992, fifty countries and international agencies granted emergency aid to former Soviet republics experiencing critical shortages of food, shelter, and energy resources. Since then, the United States government has allocated millions of dollars to help Russia rebuild. In fiscal year 1997 alone, the United States allotted $95 million for Russian aid, and President Clinton asked Congress for $242 million in fiscal year 1998. Funds are now being used to invest in busi-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CHECHNYA
SOCIAL SECURITY
STRIKES
UNPAID WAGES
UNEMPLOYMENT
CARTOONISTS & WRITERS SYNDICATE
VLADIMIR MOCHALOV

Mochalov/Cartoonists & Writers Syndicate

nesses and industry, to rebuild Russia's crumbling infrastructure (roads, bridges, and buildings), and to create programs to teach Russian officials and citizens how to maintain a democratic government.

Supporters of economic aid to Russia argue that it is essential if Russia is to survive these turbulent times. With the Russian government unable even to collect its own taxes, the Russian people are suffering needlessly, and are growing impatient with Yeltsin's reforms. Increasingly, they are turning to antireform communists and nationalists in parliament for answers—moves that could prove disastrous for the future of democracy in Russia. Supporters say extending a hand to Yeltsin now will improve U.S.–Russia relations. For the security of Europe and the world, many believe the United States must support Russia with economic aid.

However, economic aid to Russia has many skeptics. They maintain that the corruption and inefficiency of the old Soviet system remain, and suggest that the funds will likely be squandered. They argue that aid should not be wasted on an unpopular leader whose reforms are not working and who may lose control of the government if unrest continues. In addition, some opponents contend that the United States has enough problems of its own and should not send badly needed dollars to other countries—especially an unstable nation like Russia.

Nuclear Disarmament. In December 1996, more than sixty generals and admirals from around the world, including two high-ranking U.S. military leaders and seventeen retired Soviet officers, recommended that the United States and Russia reduce their nuclear forces to "very low levels." Their long-range goal is the "complete elimination of nuclear weapons from all nations." Pointing out that there have been no negotiations on nuclear arms control since 1992, these military officers believed that it was a much overlooked, but still dangerous, issue in U.S.–Russian relations.

According to the second Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START II) Treaty, signed by President George Bush and President Boris Yeltsin in January 1993, the two sides agreed to reduce their numbers of nuclear warheads to 3,500 each by 2003. Though the U.S. Senate ratified the treaty, the Russian parliament still has not approved it. Nevertheless, in March 1997, Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin held a summit in Helsinki, Finland, where they outlined a third START plan, whereby each country will further reduce their warheads to about 2,000 each.

Those who support nuclear disarmament think that the new START III plans are another important step toward eliminating all nuclear weapons in the world. They argue that by further reducing their nuclear warheads, the United States and Russia could convince other declared nuclear nations—including China, France, Great Britain—as well as other undeclared nuclear states—such as India, Israel, and Pakistan—to dismantle all nuclear weapons. Proponents also

Reuters/Ulli Michel/Archive Photos

During a summit held in Helsinki, Finland, in March 1997, Presidents Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin discussed many economic and security issues. The two leaders decided to extend the START II deadline for destroying nuclear missiles and silos from 2003 to December 31, 2007.

point out that by further lowering the number of nuclear devices, the United States and Russia will reduce the threat of accidental launches of such weapons and the possibility of theft of nuclear materials by terrorist groups or rogue nations. Supporters also contend that maintaining those arms and their delivery systems is extremely expensive, and that reducing such costs is in the economic interests of both countries.

On the other hand, many experts think that doing away with all nuclear devices would be a careless move for the United States, not only in terms of relations with Russia, but also in the context of relations with other nations. First, because Russia lacks the international power and prestige it enjoyed during the Cold War, its government might not give up its last vestige of that power—nuclear arms—so readily now. Besides, they point out that dismantling all nuclear warheads would not erase the knowledge of how to produce "the bomb." This information is available to any rogue nation or terrorist group. Critics of disarmament also remind policymakers that while the two countries might benefit economically from reducing their weapons, having at least some warheads remains a powerful deterrent to the worldwide proliferation of nuclear arms.

OUTLOOK

The United States is firmly committed to the success of democracy in Russia. However, many policymakers are apprehensive over Russia's future as its government and economy face major challenges. President Yeltsin has promised more sweeping economic reforms. However, some observers wonder if this might make the situation even worse in the short term, raising questions about whether the Russian people would withstand further financial perils. On the other hand, some economists suggest that such reforms are the prescription for turning around the Russian economy and cementing democracy in the long term. In addition to economic crises, nationalism in Russia's provinces is another issue that will likely occupy Russia's leadership for many years to come. As the challenges mount, American leaders will no doubt step cautiously with this giant country that, while no longer a global superpower, is still central to stability throughout Europe and Asia.

THE DEBATE: RUSSIA

The United States Should Continue to Support Boris Yeltsin.

PRO: Boris Yeltsin remains Russia's best hope for democratic reform. His policies will show progress if the country continues to support the goal of converting to a free-market economy. His actions in Chechnya may have been harsh, but they were essential to maintaining the strength and unity of the country. The future of democracy in all of eastern Europe could depend on Yeltsin's success in Russia.

CON: Boris Yeltsin's harsh response to the Chechen conflict must be denounced. The United States should not support any leader who uses force to suppress political opposition. Moreover, the meager results of his economic reforms prove Yeltsin is an ineffective leader, and he has lost much support at home. The United States should back away from Yeltsin and establish ties with other reform-minded Russian politicians.

The United States Should Send Economic Aid to Russia.

PRO: The United States should send aid to Russia to help strengthen its economy and improve Boris Yeltsin's political standing. If the United States does nothing, Russia's fragile democratic free-market experiment could collapse in the face of mounting domestic unrest, leaving the door open for the return of a hard-line communist or nationalist government.

CON: The United States should not give Russia aid until Russia's government develops a system to effectively distribute it. The benefits of such aid are threatened by communist and nationalist forces in the parliament. Moreover, the United States can no longer afford to spend millions of dollars on foreign aid, especially for a country whose government is so unstable.

The United States Should Negotiate Nuclear Disarmament with Russia.

PRO: Outlining START III was an important step toward dismantling all nuclear weapons in the United States and Russia. If those two countries further reduce their weapons, they could ultimately convince all other countries with nuclear weapons to disarm. Then the world would be safe from the accidental firing of nuclear arms and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

CON: Russian leaders are unlikely to give away their last vestiges of Cold War power—nuclear arms. Besides, if the United States and Russia took apart all nuclear bombs, they would lose the leverage to ensure that rogue nations give up their nuclear arms. Dismantling weapons actually increases the chances for proliferation, because more nuclear material would need to be destroyed or stored.

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INDEX

ABM Treaty. *See* Anti–Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty
abortion rights, 28, 59–61, 65
  and overpopulation, 247–9, 250
acid rain, 108, 109
acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), 126–7, 242
AFDC. *See* Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
affirmative action, 160, 163, 164, 168–70, 173
Afghanistan, 182, 318
Africa. *See* individual countries
African Americans, 68–9, 150, 160–4, 168–70, 173
Agency for International Development. *See* United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
AIDS. *See* acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS)
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), 148, 151–2, 153–5, 159
Albania, 264
Albright, Madeleine, 11
Aleman, Arnoldo, 282
Allegheny County v. Greater Pittsburgh ACLU, 54
Alliance for Progress, 287
American Revolution, 55–6
Americans with Disabilities Act, 166–7, 168
amnesty for illegal aliens, 138–9
Anthony, Susan B., 164
Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, 189–90, 191, 230
Anti-Terrorism Act of 1996, 142
apartheid, 196
Arab-Israeli conflict, 296, 298, 302–6, 307–10, 313
Arafat, Yassir, 299, 305, 306, 307
Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 187, 197, 286–7
armed forces. *See* defense
arms control. *See* North Korea; Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) Treaties I and II; Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) Treaties I and II; weapons proliferation
Assad, Hafez al-, 300, 309
atomic bomb. *See* nuclear proliferation
Audubon Society, 105

Babbitt, Bruce, 12
balanced budget amendment, 22–3, 45–6, 51
Balfour Declaration, 297
Baltic republics, 320–1
Barshefsky, Charlene, 19
Baruch Plan, 223
Begin, Menachem, 298, 304
Belarus, 226, 321
Berger, Samuel R., 18
bilingualism
  English requirements, 134, 141, 144–5, 147
Bill of Rights. *See* constitutional rights
biological weapons, 227
blacks. *See* African Americans
Blair, Tony, 268
block grants, 154
Bolshevik Revolution, 318
border patrol, U.S., 143
Bosnia-Herzegovina
  civil war, 198, 205–6, 262, 270–1, 272–3, 277
  human rights in, 192, 198, 205–6, 270–1, 272
  U.S. peacekeeping in, 178, 184–5, 187–8, 270–1, 272–3, 277
  U.S. policy toward, 271, 272–3, 277
  See also Serbia; Yugoslavia, the former
Bowles, Erskine, 16
Brady bill. *See* Handgun Control Act
Brazil, 201–2, 237, 284
Bretton Woods, 211–2
Breyer, Stephen G., 29–30
Brezhnev, Leonid, 318
Browner, Carol M., 17
Brown, Jesse, 15
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 94–5, 162

budget deficit, 36–51, 84–5
  balanced budget, 22–3, 36, 45–6, 51
  budget battle, 36, 43–5
  federal budget process, 42–5
  government shutdown, 22–3, 45
  Social Security, 48–51
  tax increases, 47–8, 51
budget, federal, 22–3, 36, 39–41
  two-year budget, 45
  See also budget deficit
Bulgaria, 264, 265, 315
Burger, Warren, 28–9
Burma. *See* Myanmar
Bush administration
  defense policy, 178, 182, 197, 330
  economic policy, 84
  education policy, 98
  foreign policy, 243–4, 252, 330
  immigration policy, 139
  Supreme Court appointments, 29
  trade policy, 201, 252
Bush, George. *See* Bush administration
busing, 28, 94–5

Cabinet secretaries, profiles of, 10–9
Cali, drug cartel, 283
campaign finance reform, 25–7
Camp David Accords, 298, 304
Canada
  trade relations with U.S., 213–4, 289
cancer, 121
Caribbean, 284–7. *See also* individual countries; Latin America
Caribbean Basin Initiative, 288
Carson, Rachel, 106
Carter, Jimmy, 98, 202, 252, 288, 298, 304, 318
Castro, Fidel, 285, 290–1, 295, 317
censorship, 54–5
Census Bureau, 162
Central America, 281–2
  Soviet involvement in, 282
  U.S. aid to, 288–9
  See also individual countries; Latin America
Chamorro, Violeta, 282
Chechnya. *See* Russia
chemical weapons, 114, 227, 228
Chernobyl nuclear accident, 106
Chiang, Kaishek, 250
child labor, 203, 215
children, 121, 125, 128, 141, 150
  See also Aid to Families with Dependent Children; education
Chile, 49, 284, 289
China, 200–1, 246, 250–4, 258–60, 261
  communism, 250–4, 316
  economic reforms, 250–1, 252
  farming in, 236, 237
  Great Leap Forward, 250
  human rights, 200–1, 203, 246, 252–3, 258–60, 261
  Hong Kong, 254
  most favored nation (MFN), 201, 215, 217–8, 221, 252–3, 258–60, 261
  "one child" policy, 200
  relations with United States, 200–1, 215, 251–3
  Tiananmen Square, 201, 252
  trade with U.S., 200–1, 215, 217–8, 221, 246, 252–3, 258–60, 261
  weapons proliferation and, 224, 227, 228
Chinese Exclusion Act, 137
Churchill, Winston, 263
citizenship requirements, 137
civil rights acts, 161–4
Civil Rights Commission, 162
civil rights reforms, 161–4
Clean Air Act, 105, 106, 109, 113–4
Clinton administration
  budget, 22, 36, 37
  budget battle, 43–5
  Cabinet and advisers, 10–9
  Congress vs., 20, 22–3
  defense policy, 178, 183, 184, 197–8, 271, 272–3, 274, 330–1
  economic policy, 36, 37, 41, 42–5, 47–8, 84–5, 86
  education policy, 92, 96–8, 103
  foreign policy, 243, 271, 272–3, 277, 283, 285, 293, 309, 311, 328–31
  health care policy, 121, 124–5, 128, 131–3

  immigration, 134, 142–3
  social programs policy, 148, 153–5, 157–9
  Supreme Court appointments, 29–30
  trade policy, 201, 217
Clinton, Bill, 10, 26. *See also* Clinton administration
Cohen, William S., 12
Cold War, 176, 178, 179–83, 240, 265, 315–9
Colombia, 282–3, 292–3
Commonwealth of Independent States. *See* Soviet Union, former
communism
  in China, 250–4, 316
  containment, 182–3, 315–7
  in Cuba, 285, 290–1, 317
  in eastern Europe, 263–4, 268–9, 315–6, 319–20
  in Latin America, 282, 288
  in North Korea, 255, 256
  Red Scare, 137
  in the Soviet Union, 315, 317–9
  U.S. policy toward, 250–3, 255, 315–9
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, 225, 226
Congress, U.S., 8, 20–7
  budget process and, 36–45
  campaign finance reform, 25–7
  term limits, 23–5
  See also 105th Congress
constitutional rights, 52–65
  abortion, 28, 59–61, 65
  bearing arms, 55–6, 58
  Bill of Rights, 52, 53, 54
  criminal suspects, 56
  Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 166
  freedom of speech, 53–5
  gun control, 55–6, 58, 71–2, 77
  right to die (euthanasia), 31, 59, 62–4, 65
  school prayer, 61–2, 65
  unenumerated rights, 56–7
  unreasonable search and seizure, 56
Consumer Price Index (CPI), 46
contras. See Nicaragua
conventional weapons, 222, 227–9, 230–1, 232, 233
  international sales, 227–9, 230–2, 233
Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 199
Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, 199
credit card debt, 85
crime, 66–77
  bill, 70–1
  causes of, 68–70
  domestic terrorism, 66–8
  gun control, 58, 69, 71–2, 75, 77
  juveniles and, 68
  mandatory sentencing, 72–4, 77
Cruzan v. Director, Missouri Department of Health, 62–4, 65
Cuba, 182, 285
  Soviet ties with, 285
  U.S. policy toward, 182, 213, 285, 290–1, 317
Cuban missile crisis, 285, 317
Cuomo, Andrew M., 14
Czechoslovakia, the former, 265, 268, 270, 315
Czech Republic, 181, 274

Daley, William F., 13
Daschle, Tom, 22
Dayton Agreements, 198, 272
death penalty, 56–7, 59
debt. *See* national debt
decolonization, 194–5
defense, 178–91
  of allies, 179, 181–2
  budget, 40, 178, 182–4, 185–6, 191
  democratization and, 196–8, 203–4, 207
  drug trafficking and, 197, 292–4, 295
  of Europe, 181, 264–6, 270, 272–3, 275–6, 277, 315
  of Japan, 247–8, 256–8, 261
  military size and mission, 179–80, 182–4, 186–8, 191
  missile defense system, 184, 188–90, 191, 230
  nuclear deterrence, 180–1
  peacekeeping, 176, 178, 179, 184–5, 186–8, 191, 197–8, 271, 272–3, 277, 286–7
  presidential authority to use troops, 184–5

  Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), 183, 184
  war criminals and, 205–6, 207
  women in the armed forces, 179
deficit. *See* budget deficit
deficit, trade. *See* international trade
democracy
  in Bosnia, 198
  in Europe, 195
  in Haiti, 197–8
  human rights and, 201–2
  in Latin America, 195, 197, 278, 282
  in Malaysia, 195
  in Panama, 196
  in South Africa, 196
  spread of, 176, 192, 193–6
  U.S. interests and, 193
  U.S. military and, 196–8, 203–4, 207
  in Yemen, 305
democracy and human rights, 192–207. *See also* democracy; human rights; individual countries
Democratic Party, 20–1
Deng Xiaoping, 250–1, 252
Department of State, U.S. *See* State Department, U.S.
desegregation, school, 28, 94–5, 136, 162
détente, 317–8
diplomacy, 176
disabled people, 166–7, 169
discrimination against
  African Americans, 68–9, 150, 160–4, 168–70, 173
  homosexuals, 126, 167–8, 171–3
  people with disabilities, 166–7, 169
  women, 31, 164–6, 167
Displaced Persons Act of 1948, 137
divided government, 21–2, 43–5
Dole, Bob, 22
domestic partners. *See* same-sex marriage
Dominican Republic, 182
domino theory, 316
drugs
  crime, 69–70
  criminal sentences, 72–4, 77
  federal government policy on, 74–5, 77
  Latin America and, 197, 283, 292–4, 295
  legalization, 72
  teens and, 71, 74
Duvalier, François, 286
Duvalier, Jean Claude, 286

earned-income tax credit (EITC), 155–7, 159
Earth Day, 106
Earth Summit. *See* United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit)
East Asia, 246–61
  conventional weapons imports to, 227
  See also individual countries
eastern Europe. *See* Europe
Ebonics, 94
Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, 95, 152
economy, 78–91
  Consumer Price Index (CPI), 46, 79–80
  displaced workers, 89–91
  flat tax, 87–9, 91
  immigration and, 134, 140, 142, 143–4, 147
  income gap, 78, 85–6, 91
  inflation, 79–80
  interest rates, 79, 81
  international interdependence, 83
  mergers, 83
  minimum wage, 86
  productivity, 82–3
  recession, 81–2
  tax reform, 87–9, 91
  unemployment, 80–1
  See also budget deficit; international trade; poverty
education, 92–103
  Clinton administration policy for, 92, 96–8, 103
  community role in, 93–4
  federal oversight, 92, 97–8, 103
  financial disparity in, 93–4
  multicultural curricula, 92, 100–3
  national standards, 97–8, 103
  school choice, 92, 98–100, 103
  school desegregation, 28, 94–5
  school uniforms, 95

  student loans, 92, 96–7
  violence in schools, 99
  vouchers, 99
  wages and, 87
  year-round education, 98
  See also higher education
Egypt, 227, 238, 299, 303–4
Eisenhower, Dwight, 285
Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965), 95
employment
  affirmative action, 160, 163, 168–70, 173
  of immigrants, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143–4, 147
  minimum wage, 86, 138, 156
  unemployment, 80–1, 82
empowerment zones, 148, 156–9
Endangered Species Act, 106, 109
Engel v. Vitale, 61
English language requirements, 134, 141, 144–5, 147
entitlement programs, 40, 149–54
environment, 104–17
  acid rain, 108, 109
  biodiversity, 107
  conservationists, 105
  coral reef, 112
  fishing regulations, 107, 113
  global warming, 106, 107–8, 109
  greenhouse effect, 104, 107
  laws and treaties, 109
  nuclear waste, 108–10
  ozone depletion, 104, 106, 108, 109
  public land use, 104, 112, 115–7
  recycling, 111–2
  solid waste, 109, 111–2
  toxic waste, 104, 109, 110–1, 114–5, 117
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 17, 106, 110, 113
environmental regulations, 104, 109, 113–4, 117,
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 162
Equal Pay Act of 1963, 165
Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 166
ERA. *See* Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
Europe, 262–77
  communist collapse, 268–9, 319–20
  defense of, 181, 264–6, 269–70, 275–6, 277, 315
  demilitarization of, 269–70, 275
  democracy in, 195
  division of, 263–4
  military presence in, 181, 265, 269–70, 275–6, 277
  nationalism in, 270–1, 272–3, 277
  trade, 213, 268
  unemployment in, 267
  unification of, 266–8
  U.S. economic policy and, 268
  See also individual countries
European Economic Community (EC), 211, 262, 266
European Union (EU), 211, 213, 262, 266–8
euthanasia. *See* right to die
exclusionary rule, 58

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 17, 66
federal government, 8–9, 34–6, 57, 78
  education and, 92, 95–6, 97–98, 103
  executive branch, 8, 10–9,
  health care and, 118, 119–26, 127–9, 131–3
  judicial branch, 8–9, 28–35
  legislative branch, 8, 20–7
  poverty and, 148–59
  shutdown, 43–5
Federal Reserve Board, 79, 81
Food and Drug Administration (FDA), 128
food stamps, 148, 152
foreign aid
  to developing countries, 237–43, 245
  to Latin America, 278, 287–8
  to Mexico, 281, 288,
  to the Middle East, 238, 298
  national interest and, 240–1, 245
  to Russia, 228–30, 333
  security assistance, 239–40
  U.S. policy, 234, 237–43, 245
  to western Europe, 264

foreign policy, U.S.
  with China, 251–3
  containment of Soviet influence, 315–7
  human rights and, 202–3, 207
  with Iran, 310–2, 313
  with Japan, 247–50, 256–8, 261
  with Latin America, 285, 287–9, 290–4, 295
  "one China" policy, 253
  responsibilities for, 177
  with Taiwan, 253, 258, 261
France, 267, 269
  colonization by, 285, 300
  weapons proliferation and, 224, 228
  World War II and, 263, 264
Free Exercise Clause, 61–2, 65
Freeh, Louis, 17
Free Trade Area of the Americas, 214, 289
Frei, Eduardo, 284
Fujimori, Alberto, 283–4

GATT. *See* General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
gender discrimination, 31, 164–6, 167, 170–1
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 208, 212, 268
Germany
  division of, 264, 315
  East Germany, 265, 268
  reunification of, 269, 320
Gingrich, Newt, 26
Ginsburg, Ruth Bader, 29–30
Glickman, Dan, 13
Goals 2000: Educate America, 98
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 318–21
Gore, Jr., Albert, 10
Great Britain
  colonization and, 254
  European unification and, 267
  and German reunification, 269
  leaders and legislation in, 268, 274
  and Middle East, 297, 298, 299, 301
  terrorism in, 264
  weapons proliferation and, 223, 224, 228
  World War II and, 263, 264
Great Depression, 34, 81, 149, 150–1, 210
Great Society, 95–6, 97–8, 119, 152–3
greenhouse effect, 104, 107
Grenada, 182, 288
Group of Seven (G-7), 83
Guatemala, 182, 287
gun control, 71–2
  crime and, 69, 71
  Handgun Control Act (Brady bill), 58, 69, 75, 77
  Second Amendment and, 55–6

Haiti, 178, 187, 197–8, 285–7
Haitian refugees. *See* immigration
Handgun Control Act, 58, 69, 75, 77
handguns. *See* gun control
Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, 210
Head Start, 95–6
health care, 118–33
  AIDS, 126–7, 242
  budget, 41
  costs, 118, 120–6, 127–33
  federal programs, 119–26, 127–9, 131–3
  health maintenance organizations (HMOs), 121, 129–31, 133
  malpractice and, 125
  managed care, 118, 129–31, 133
  national health insurance, 118, 119, 131–3
  technology and, 123–4
  See also Medicaid and Medicare
Helms-Burton Act, 285, 290–1
Helsinki Accords, 318
hemispheric free-trade zone, 214, 289, 291–2, 295
Herman, Alexis, 13
higher education
  admissions, gender discrimination in, 31, 166–7, 170–1
  affirmative action, 164
  cost of, 92, 96–7
  multicultural curricula, 100–3
Higher Education Act of 1965, 95
Ho, Dr. David, 127
Holocaust, 297
homelessness. *See* poverty
homosexuals, 126, 167–8, 171–3

Hong Kong. *See* China
House of Representatives. *See* Congress, U.S.
housing
  discrimination in, 163–4
human rights
  activism, 199–200
  in Bosnia, 192, 198, 205–6, 270–1, 272
  child labor, 203, 215
  in China, 200–1, 203, 252–3, 258–60, 261
  in democracies, 201–2
  description, 198–9
  documents, 199
  in eastern Europe, 318
  groups, 200
  Helsinki Accords, 318
  international trade and, 200–1, 203, 215, 252–3, 258–60, 261, 285
  in Latin America, 201–2, 285, 290–1, 295
  in Myanmar, 192, 259
  in Rwanda, 192, 205
  United Nations and, 199, 205
  U.S. foreign policy and, 202–3, 207
  war criminals, 205–6, 207
Hungary, 181, 264, 265, 268, 270, 274, 315
hunger. *See* world poverty
Hussein, King, 300, 304
Hussein, Saddam, 301, 306–7

IAEA. *See* International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
illegal aliens. *See* immigration
immigration, 134–47
  amnesty for illegal aliens, 138–9
  citizenship requirements, 137
  deportation, 142–3
  economy and, 134, 140, 142, 143–4, 147
  employment and, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143–4, 147
  English-language requirements, 134, 141, 144–5, 147
  Haitian refugees, 286
  illegal, 134, 138, 139–40, 141, 142–3, 145–7
  legal, 134, 139, 140, 142–4, 147
  quotas, 135–8
  refugees, 138–9
  social services and, 134, 145–7
Immigration Act of 1965, 137–8
Immigration Act of 1990, 139
Immigration Act of 1996, 143
immigration acts, 135–9
Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), 139, 141
Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, 139
income gap. *See* economy
India, 225, 227
Indonesia, 252
infant mortality, 155
inflation, 79–80
integration. *See* desegregation, school
Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, 319
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 226
international trade, 208–21
  child labor and, 203, 215
  comparative advantage, 209
  embargoes, 213, 310–2, 313
  free trade and U.S. jobs, 208, 215–7, 221
  human rights and, 200–1, 203, 205, 252–3, 258–60, 261, 285, 290–1, 295
  managed trade, 218–20, 221
  protectionism, 208, 209–10, 217–8, 221
  trade deficit, 208, 212–3, 219, 249
  U.S.–Canada, 213–4, 289
  U.S.–China, 200–1, 215, 217–8, 221, 246, 252–3, 258–60, 261
  U.S.–Cuba, 213
  U.S.–Eastern Europe, 216
  U.S.–Europe, 213, 268
  U.S.–Japan, 210, 214–5, 218, 246, 249–50
  U.S.–Latin America, 214, 278, 285, 289, 290–2, 295
  U.S.–Mexico, 213–4, 280, 289
Internet
  free speech, 54–5
Iran
  anti-Americanism in, 310

  political history, 300–1
  U.S. relations with, 310–2, 313
  weapons proliferation and, 225, 227
Iran-Iraq War, 301
Iraq, 182, 301, 306–7
Irish Republican Army, 266
Israel
  history of, 296, 297–8, 302
  occupation of southern Lebanon, 300
  occupied territories, 302, 303, 304–6, 309–10, 313
  Palestinian homeland issues, 298–9, 302–6, 307–8, 313
  peace talks and treaties, 176, 296, 298, 303–6, 309–10, 313
  terrorism in, 305, 306, 308
  wars with Arab countries, 302
  weapons proliferation and, 225, 227
Izetbegovic, Alija, 272

Japan
  atomic bomb and, 223, 247
  defense of, 181, 248, 256–8, 261
  economy, 82, 248–9
  "gentlemen's agreement," 136
  Okinawa, 256, 257
  relations with U.S., 247–50, 256–8, 261
  U.S. assistance to, 248
  U.S. trade with, 210, 214–5, 218, 246, 249–50
Jiang, Zemin, 251
"Jim Crow" laws, 166
John Paul II, 290
Johnson, Lyndon, 34, 95, 119, 120, 152, 163
Jordan, 298, 299–300, 304
juvenile crime, 68, 99

Karadzic, Radovan, 205
Kazakhstan, 226
Kennedy, Anthony M., 29–30
Kennedy, John, 163, 241, 285, 287, 317
Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah, 301
Khrushchev, Nikita, 317
Kim Il Sung, 255, 256
Kim Jong Il, 255, 256
Korea. *See* East Asia; Korean War; North Korea; South Korea
Korean War, 182, 254, 316
Kuwait, 182, 301, 306–7

Latin America, 278–95
  democracy in, 195, 197, 278, 282
  drug policy and, 197, 283, 292–4, 295
  free U.S. trade with, 278, 289, 291–2, 295
  human rights in, 201–2
  immigration to U.S., 134, 140–1, 143–7
  U.S. foreign policy toward, 285, 287–9, 290–4, 295
  See also individual countries
Lebanon, 182, 300
Lebed, Alexander, 324, 325
Lee, Teng-hui, 258
Lenin, Vladimir, 318
less developed countries, 235–7
  family planning in, 243–4, 245
  hunger, 236–7
  U.S. foreign aid to, 234, 237–43, 245
  urbanization in, 243
Libya, 225
Limited Test Ban Treaty, 224–5
line-item veto, 47
lobbying reform, 25–7
Lott, Trent, 22

Maastricht Treaty, 262, 266–7
MacArthur, Douglas, 247
Madison, James, 53
Major, John, 268
Malaysia, 195
managed care. *See* health care
mandatory sentencing, 72–4, 77
Mandela, Nelson, 196
Mao Zedong, 250, 316
Marshall Plan, 238, 264, 276
Marx, Karl, 318
McCaffrey, Barry R., 18
McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, 137
means testing. *See* Social Security
Medicaid and Medicare, 40, 118, 119–22, 124, 127–9, 130, 133, 148, 152–3
Mexico, 279–81, 288, 289
  democracy in, 195
  economic crisis in, 281
  free trade with, 213–4, 289

human rights in, 201–2
immigration to U.S., 134, 140–1, 143–7
U.S. foreign aid to, 281, 288
Middle East, 296–313
conventional weapons imports to, 227
Golan Heights, 309–10, 313
U.S. foreign aid to, 238, 240, 298
See also individual countries
military, U.S. *See* defense
Milosevic, Slobodan, 270, 272
minimum wage, 86, 138, 156
minority groups, 160
African Americans, 68–9, 150, 161–4, 168–70, 173
Hispanics, 162. *See also* immigration
homosexuals, 126, 167–8, 171–3
people with disabilities, 166–7, 169
racial discrimination, 161–4
missile defense system, 184, 188–90, 191, 230
Miranda rule, 56
Mladic, Ratko, 205
moment of silence, 61–2, 65
Montreal Protocol, 106, 108, 109
most favored nation (MFN) trade status. *See* China
Mubarak, Muhammed Hosni, 299
Murayama, Tomiichi, 248
Myanmar (Burma), 192, 259

NAFTA. *See* North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
NASA. *See* National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)
Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 299
National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), 107
national debt, 37–9
nationalism, 270–1, 272–3, 277, 323, 324. *See also* Russia; Yugoslavia, the former
National Origins Act of 1929, 136
National Rifle Association (NRA), 71–2
NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Netanyahu, Benjamin, 296, 305, 307, 309
New Deal, 31, 151
Nicaragua, 281–2, 288–9
Nicholas II, Czar, 318
Nixon, Richard, 106, 163, 252, 318
Noriega, Manuel, 197, 204
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 208, 213–4, 216–7, 278, 280, 284, 289
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
creation of, 181, 264–6
expansion of, 262, 265–6, 273–4, 277, 315, 320
peacekeeping operations, 184, 187–8, 198, 271, 272
Northern Ireland, 266
North Korea
division of Korea and the Korean War, 254–5, 256, 316
weapons proliferation and, 225, 226, 227
NRA. *See* National Rifle Association (NRA)
nuclear deterrence, 180–1
Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (1968), 222, 224, 229, 233
nuclear proliferation, 222–7, 229–30, 231, 233
disarmament, 226–7, 330–1, 333
former Soviet nuclear weapons, 226–7
in North Korea, 226
nuclear club, 224
nuclear weapons development, 223–4
nuclear weapons technology, 225–6, 230, 233
safeguards, 229–30, 233
sales of weapons, 225–6
testing of nuclear weapons, 222, 224–5, 317
treaties, 224–5
nuclear waste, 108–10

O'Connor, Sandra Day, 29–30
Office of Management and Budget (OMB), 18, 42
Okinawa. *See* Japan
Oklahoma City bombing. *See* terrorism, domestic
Old Age, Survivors, and Disability

Insurance. *See* Social Security
older Americans, 124, 127–9, 151. *See also* Medicaid and Medicare; Social Security
OMB, 18, 42
105th Congress, 20–7, 36
Operation Joint Venture, 272–3, 276
Operation Just Cause, 204
Ortega, Daniel, 282
overpopulation, 234, 235–6, 243–4, 245
ozone depletion. *See* environment

PACs. *See* political action committees
Pahlavi, Shah Mohammad Reza, 301
Pakistan, 225, 227
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 296, 299, 300, 304, 305
Palestine Mandate, 297, 299
Palestinian Authority, 299, 304, 305
Palestinians, 296, 298–9, 303, 304–6, 307–8, 313
Panama, 183, 196–7, 204
Peña, Federico F., 15
Pentagon, 181
Perot, Ross, 39
Perry, William, 183
Persian Gulf War, 182, 228, 300, 301, 306–7
Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996, 153, 154
Peru, 283–4
Pinochet, Augusto, 284
Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey, 60
Plessy v. Ferguson, 161
PLO. *See* Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
Poland, 181, 263, 265, 268, 274, 315
political action committees (PACs), 25–6
poll tax, 162, 163
poor, working, 148, 155–7, 159
pope, the. *See* John Paul II
poverty (U.S.), 148–59
  Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), 148, 151–2, 153–5, 159
  crime and, 68–9
  earned-income tax credit (EITC), 155–7, 159
  empowerment zones, 148, 156–9
  food stamps, 152
  government programs, 34–5, 150–4
  homelessness, 152, 153
  working poor, 148, 155–7, 159
  See also Great Society; social programs; world poverty
prayer in schools. *See* school prayer
Préval, René, 198, 287
prison overcrowding, 72–4, 77
privacy, 59
productivity. *See* economy
Proposition 187, 141, 145
Proposition 209, 163
protectionism. *See* international trade
public land use, 104, 112, 115–7
public policy, 8, 34–5

Rabin, Yitzhak, 296, 304, 305, 309
racial discrimination. *See* minority groups
Radio Free Asia, 202
Rafsanjani, Ali Akbar Hashemi, 301
Raines, Franklin, 18
R.A.V. v. St. Paul, 54
Reagan administration
  defense policy, 178, 182–3
  economic policy, 83–4
  foreign policy, 243–4, 252, 319
  Iran/*contra* affair, 288–9
  Supreme Court appointments, 29
Reagan Doctrine, 288–9
Reagan, Ronald. *See* Reagan administration
recession. *See* economy
recycling, 111–2
Refugee Act of 1980, 138–9
refugees. *See* immigration
Rehabilitation Act of 1973, 166
Rehnquist, William H., 29–30
Reno, Janet, 12
Republican Party, 20–7
  budget battle, 36, 43–5
Richardson, Bill, 16
right to die (euthanasia), 31, 59, 62–4, 65
Riley, Richard W., 15

Roe v. Wade, 59–61, 65
Romania, 263, 265, 268, 315
Roosevelt, Franklin, 31, 34, 81, 119, 150–1, 152, 263
Roosevelt, Theodore, 105–6, 119, 135
Rubin, Robert E., 11
Russia, 314–33
  arms control and, 224–5, 226–7, 228, 317–9, 330–1, 333
  Bolshevik Revolution, 318
  Chechnya, republic of, 314, 324
  communists, 322–4
  economic reforms, 314, 318–9, 324–7
  elections, 323–4
  nationalism, 323
  NATO membership and, 274, 277, 320
  parliament, 322–3
  U.S. foreign aid to, 328–30, 333
  U.S. support for Yeltsin, 327–8, 333
Rutskoi, Alexander, 322–3
Rwanda, 178, 192, 205, 236–7

Sadat, Anwar el-, 298, 299, 303–4
Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, 280
SALT I and II. *See* Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) Treaties I and II
SAT. *See* Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT)
same-sex marriage, 160, 171–3
Samper, Ernesto, 283
sanctions (U.S.), 285, 306–7, 310–2, 313
Sandinistas. *See* Nicaragua
Saudi Arabia, 227, 301
Scalia, Antonin, 29–30
Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT), 100
school choice, 92, 98–100, 103
school prayer, 61–2, 65
schools. *See* education; higher education
SDI. *See* Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
segregation. *See* desegregation, school
Senate. *See* Congress, U.S.
Serbia, 270–1. *See also* Bosnia-Herzegovina; Yugoslavia, the former
sex discrimination. *See* gender discrimination
Shalala, Donna E., 14
Shining Path. *See* Peru
Sierra Club, 105
Silent Spring, 106
single-sex education, 160, 170–1, 173
Six-Day War, 302, 309
Slater, Rodney E., 14
social programs, 148–54
  illegal immigrants and, 141–3, 145–7
  See also Aid to Families with Dependent Children; Medicare and Medicaid; Social Security
Social Security, 40, 48–50, 51, 151
  means testing, 119
solid waste, 109, 111–2
Somalia, 178
Souter, David, 29–30
South Africa, 196, 241
South America, 188, 282–4. *See also* individual countries; Latin America
South Korea, 181, 255–6, 316
Soviet Union, former, 176, 178, 179–80, 315–22
  arms control, 317–9
  breakup of, 314, 320–2
  containment, 315–7
  détente with, 317–8
  economic and political reform, 318–21
  independence movements, 319, 320–1
  involvement in Europe, 263–4, 269
  involvement in Latin America, 282, 285, 290
  nuclear proliferation and, 223, 226–7
  relations with United States, 315–9
  U.S. defense policy and, 179–80, 315–9, 330–1, 333
Stalin, Joseph, 263, 315
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 164
START I and II. *See* Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) Treaties I and II
State Department, U.S., 177
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) Treaties I and II, 317–8
Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) Treaties I and II, 190, 191, 226–7, 230, 232, 330–1, 333

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), 183, 184
student loans. *See* education
suffrage movement, 164–5
Superfund, 109, 110–1, 114–5
Supreme Court, 8–9, 28–35, 52
  on abortion, 28, 59–61, 65
  on affirmative action, 169
  on crime issues, 31, 56
  on discrimination against homosexuals, 31, 168
  on discrimination against minorities, 30, 94, 161–2
  on discrimination against women, 31, 165
  on the First Amendment, 53–5
  justices, 29–30,
  on president's immunity, 31
  on religious liberty, 31
  on right to die (euthanasia), 31, 59, 62–4, 65
  on school desegregation, 94
  on school prayer, 61–2, 65
  on term limits, 24
  size, 31
supply-side economics, 83–4
Suu Kyi, Aung San, 259
Syria, 300, 309–10, 313

Taiwan, 250, 251, 253, 258, 261
tariffs. *See under* international trade, protectionism
taxes
  budget deficit and, 47–8, 51
  earned-income tax credit (EITC), 148, 155–7, 159
  flat tax, 87–9, 91
  poll tax, 162, 163
  Reagan reforms, 83–4
  recession and, 81–2
  reform, 87–9, 91
Tenet, George J., 17
term limits, 23–5
terrorism
  domestic, 66–8
  international, 266, 283–4, 292, 295, 301, 305, 306, 309, 310–2, 313
Texas v. Johnson, 54
Thailand, 255
Third World. *See* less developed countries
Thomas, Clarence, 29–30
"three strikes" law, 70–1, 73
Tiananmen Square. *See* China
tobacco, 128
toxic waste, 104, 109, 110–1, 114–5, 117
trade. *See* international trade
Truman, Harry, 119, 120, 137, 161
Tudjman, Franjo, 272

Ukraine, 226, 321
unemployment. *See* employment
United Arab Republic, 299, 300
United Kingdom. *See* Great Britain
United Nations, 177
  activities regarding the Middle East, 298, 299, 302–3, 306–7
  development aid, 240
  humanitarian aid, 187
  human rights and, 199, 205
  mission in Haiti, 197–8, 286–7
  mission in Korean War, 182, 316
  mission in Somalia, 187
  nuclear proliferation and, 224
United Nations Charter, 199
United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit), 106–7
United Nations Development Program, 240
United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), 237, 307
United Nations Security Council Resolutions, 302–3
United Nations war crime tribunals, 205
United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 239, 241–3, 245
U.S.–Japan Mutual Security Treaty, 248, 256, 261
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 199

Vacco v. Quill, 63
Vietnam War, 182, 316
violence. *See* crime
Virginia Military Institute (VMI), 31, 166, 167, 170–1

voting rights
  minorities, 160, 163
  women, 164–5
Voting Rights Act, 163

wages
  education and, 87
  gap, 165
Wallace v. Jaffree, 62
war criminals, 205–6, 207
War Powers Act of 1973, 184–5
Warren, Earl, 28–9
Warsaw Pact, 181, 264–6, 315–6
Washington v. Glucksberg, 63
weapons proliferation, 222–33. *See also* conventional weapons; nuclear proliferation
Webster v. Reproductive Health Services, Inc., 59
welfare. *See* Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); poverty; social programs
women, 160
  affirmative action, 163, 168–70, 173
  in the armed forces, 179
  discrimination, 31, 164–6, 167
  equal rights movement, 164–6
  poverty, 150
  suffrage movement, 164–5
World Bank, 240
world poverty
  causes of, 235–7
  global income gap, 237
  hunger, 236–7
  in less developed countries, 234–40
  North-South conflict, 235
  overpopulation and, 234, 235–6, 243–4, 245
  U.S. foreign aid and, 234, 237–43, 245
  urbanization and, 243
world poverty and U.S. foreign aid, 234–45. *See also* foreign aid; world poverty
World Trade Organization (WTO), 213
World War I, 136
World War II, 137, 176, 223, 238, 247, 248, 263, 297, 315
WTO. *See* World Trade Organization (WTO)

year-round education, 98
Yeltsin, Boris, 314, 320, 321, 322–8, 329, 330, 331, 333
Yemen, 305
Yugoslavia, the former, 262, 264, 268, 270–1, 272–3, 277. *See also* Bosnia-Herzegovina; Serbia

Zaire, 236–7
Zedillo, Ernesto, 280, 281
Zhirinovsky, Vladimir, 323
Zionism, 297
Zyuganov, Gennady, 323–4

Close Up's Civic Education Programs

The programs of the Close Up Foundation represent a diverse approach to citizenship education, teaching Americans about democracy and giving them the skills to play an active role in their government and their communities. From the nation's capital to social studies classrooms nationwide, Close Up is committed to increasing civic awareness—one student, one citizen, at a time. Close Up's educational offerings include:

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Close Up Program for Older Americans—a civic learning program for adults age 50 and over, offered in cooperation with the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP)

Close Up Program for New Americans—a civic education and service-learning program with a weeklong Washington study visit for recently immigrated and migrant students and their teachers

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For information on these or other Close Up Foundation citizenship education initiatives, call 800-CLOSE UP (256-7387); write to Close Up Foundation, 44 Canal Center Plaza, Alexandria, VA 22314-1592; or send e-mail to outreach@closeup.org. Visit our Web site at www.closeup.org.

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Close Up Foundation

The Close Up Foundation is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that teaches responsible participation in the democratic process through civic education programs and publications in government and citizenship. Since its founding in 1970, Close Up has developed new and better ways for young people, educators, and a widening circle of citizens of all ages to gain a practical understanding of how government influences their lives and how individual and collective efforts influence government.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

What Is *Current Issues?* 5
What Is the *Current Issues Teacher's Guide?* 6
Features of the Lesson Plans 7
How to Teach Controversial Issues 9
How to Use *Current Issues* 10
Additional Activities 13
Instructional Strategies 15

LESSON PLANS

The Federal Government

The Clinton Administration 23
The 105th Congress 23
The Supreme Court 23

Domestic Policy Issues

The Budget Deficit 29
Constitutional Rights 33
Crime and Drugs 37
The Economy 41
Education 43
Environment 47
Health Care 51
Immigration 53
Poverty 57
Women and Minorities 61

Foreign Policy Issues

Defense 65
Democracy and Human Rights 69
International Trade 71
Weapons Proliferation 75
World Poverty and Foreign Aid 79
East Asia 83
Europe 85
Latin America 89

The Middle East 93
Russia 97

Unit Test Materials 101

Unit Test Answers 147

Student Handouts 163

Student Handouts for Lower-Reading-Level *Current Issues* 191

INTRODUCTION

Social studies teachers have long recognized the benefits of incorporating current issues instruction into their classes. Many adults can remember the Thursday evenings they spent when they were students scanning the newspaper for a worthy article to take to Friday's current events discussion. Their teachers knew that discussions about current events were often highly motivational, encouraged students' involvement, and provided them with practical information about the world in which they lived. While these weekly exercises were usually informative and enjoyable, such a random approach can no longer adequately prepare students for the twenty-first century. As citizens in a democratic society that is part of an interdependent world network of nations, students need more than simple information about the faraway places and national topics that happen to make today's front page.

To effectively exercise their responsibilities as citizens—the most important political office in American society—students need models for analyzing current issues. For example, they need to understand the dimensions of national security—how it can be measured, how it can be strengthened, and what its costs and benefits are. Without such a framework, students will be unable to decide what they think their government should do in certain critical situations. The study of current events should, therefore, teach students how to analyze important issues. Issues of social justice, national security, and economic interdependence will change yearly, but once students have acquired a model for analyzing such issues, they can apply that model forever.

Not only can current events instruction provide students with valuable analytical models, but it can also serve to develop critical-thinking skills. By defining problems, collecting and analyzing data, developing alternative solutions, selecting appropriate responses, working with their peers, defending a position, and persuading others, students can learn the skills and attitudes that will make them informed and effective citizens.

The United States and the world face issues that threaten their survival, and educators have a responsibility to prepare the next generation of citizens to think critically and to solve problems. The knowledge, skills, and attitudes developed by *Current Issues* can help you in this noble task.

WHAT IS *CURRENT ISSUES?*

Current Issues is a book, updated and published annually by the Close Up Foundation, that investigates twenty timely domestic and foreign policy issues. The *Current Issues* format provides students with an ideal framework for studying the complexities of the issues.

The introductory section of *Current Issues* titled "The Federal Government" gives students important facts about the present administration, Congress, and the Supreme Court. Following "The Federal Government" are the twenty issue chapters—ten under "Domestic Policy Issues" and ten under "Foreign Policy Issues." Each chapter introduces a subject and provides background, current issues, a pro/con debate of key policy questions, and an outlook for the future.

The lower-reading-level edition of *Current Issues* covers the same subjects in a less comprehensive way and provides the same features as the regular edition. This edition is appropriate for students who speak English as a second language, middle school students, academically at-risk students who may read below grade level, and others who could benefit from the simpler vocabulary and sentence structure. Definitions of difficult words and concepts are included in this edition, along with illustrations and charts for readers who may learn more effectively through graphics. Both books can be used in the same classroom with students of disparate reading skills.

WHAT IS THE *CURRENT ISSUES TEACHER'S GUIDE?*

The *Current Issues Teacher's Guide* provides a variety of instructional activities to help you and your students make the best use of both the standard and the lower-reading-level editions of *Current Issues.* The *Teacher's Guide* includes lesson plans for the introductory section and for the individual chapters in the book. Each set of lessons is designed to help students investigate and analyze intelligently the most pressing issues currently facing the United States and the world. Although the lessons are comprehensive, they also offer illustrative suggestions of how you might teach each unit. The lesson plans may be used exactly as written, or you can modify and adapt them as your professional judgment suggests is appropriate. Each chapter includes an activity and accompanying handout written specifically for the lower-reading-level *Current Issues.* Such activities and handouts are marked with a star. Of course, feel free to adapt any of the other activities or handouts to fit the audience using the lower-reading-level edition.

The lesson plans in this guide use instructional strategies that help students develop a variety of citizenship skills. Each lesson includes student objectives, a list of terms and concepts, and several learning activities. The first activity—a motivational exercise introducing students to the issue and helping them recognize the personal significance of it—is followed by a series of in-depth learning activities that increase student understanding of the issue. Each lesson also includes enrichment activities that can be used to offer extra credit assignments for students who want to spend more time investigating a topic or to expand the study of selected issues.

The guide also contains unit test materials that you can easily reproduce. The test materials for each unit include ten objective true-false items, focusing on lower-level recall of basic information, and eight to ten subjective items that require students to use higher-level cognitive skills. An answer key for unit tests is included. The last section in the guide contains student handouts to be used along with many of the lessons.

FEATURES OF THE LESSON PLANS

Each lesson plan has several features to help you present the topic.

Terms and Concepts

Students need to understand the specialized terms that are associated with each topic in *Current Issues*. The most effective way to teach such terms is in the context of the chapter. Relate new terms to those that students already know. Help them break down a word into its component parts so that it is easier to understand.

You can ask students to define the terms and concepts at the start of the lesson, as is traditional, or you may consider these alternatives.

- Have students individually list unfamiliar terms as they read the chapter, and then decide which key words are essential for an understanding of the issue.
- Have students create a glossary of specialized terms on three- by five-inch index cards or in a notebook while they are reading each chapter.
- Give extra credit for every example of a listed term or concept that students find in books, newspapers, and magazines, or every time they use a term correctly in class discussion.
- Ask students to develop crossword puzzles using all or most of the terms and concepts.

Decisionmaking/Problem-Solving Activities

Any thoughtful analysis of current domestic or international issues inherently involves making decisions and solving problems. A variety of models are available for leading students through this process. The steps in the model presented here can be written on poster paper and displayed at the front of the room. Then, throughout the course, whenever students are discussing a decision or addressing a problem, refer them to the model. Show students how they can apply the steps in most situations to find the best solution.

Decisionmaking/Problem-Solving Model

1. Identify situations where a decision is required or a problem must be defined.
2. Identify likely sources of information about the issue(s).
3. Collect relevant information.
4. Classify, interpret, analyze, summarize, synthesize, and evaluate the information.
5. Recognize values related to the decision.
6. Prioritize values.
7. Identify alternative courses of action.
8. Predict the likely consequences of each alternative.
9. Make a decision based on the data you have and your most desired outcome.
10. Act to implement your decision.
11. Assess the results of implementing your decision.
12. Recognize the need to change your decision when warranted by new information.
13. Recognize gaps in information and areas needing further study.

Using Current Resources

While *Current Issues* provides an overview of national and international issues, the nature of such issues means that specific events and information about those events change daily. Therefore, many activities in the guide call upon your students to use outside sources of information. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and television should all be among the resources used by students studying *Current Issues.*

Examining the Proper Role of Government

As long as governments have existed, philosophers, political scientists, and citizens have debated what the proper role of government should be. Most political decisions reflect the beliefs of decisionmakers about the proper role of government; political controversy is often rooted in different answers to this question.

This question is inherent in each issue in *Current Issues.* The *Teacher's Guide* lesson plans examine the role of government in the issues.

Encourage students to consider this basic political question at the beginning of the course and to decide what they think the proper role of government should be. Then, have them reevaluate their positions after studying each issue. Is their decision about a proper course of governmental action on one issue consistent with their belief about the role of government in general? If not, why not? Should their general philosophy be modified? By the end of the course, students should have a well-articulated position about the proper role of government, be able to support that position, and apply it consistently to a wide variety of domestic and international issues.

HOW TO TEACH CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

Controversy is an inherent part of any discussion of current issues. Although some teachers and students are afraid of controversy and see it as something to be avoided, controversy is natural and can lead to a productive classroom experience if handled properly.

Controversy motivates students and generates interest. When teaching controversial subjects, you should be responsive to some of the characteristics unique to working with such material. Use the following guidelines to help you.

1. When dealing with controversial subjects, keep an open mind so that you can encourage your class to examine an array of ideas and develop the best one. You may wish to establish the following ground rules.
   - Everyone who has something to say will have an opportunity to say it.
   - Focus discussions on ideas, not on personalities or people.
   - Anyone can change a position at any time. Remember, just because you choose one position at the start does not mean you have to stay with it.
   - The purpose of discussion is understanding, not winning.
   - Define all terms.
   - Avoid unsupported, emotional statements.
   - Cite sources of information.
   - Do not interrupt others.
   - Listen to and respect the opinions of others.
2. When controversy appears, identify areas of agreement and disagreement and clearly describe the source of controversy. Recognize that consensus is probably not possible or desirable.
3. Respect the right of students not to express their opinion on some issues. Sometimes an issue can be so personal that students do not want to share their thoughts or feelings.
4. Students should recognize that disagreements are simply that. They do not mean that friendships must end or that someone is "stupid" or "wrong." One device for maintaining class harmony might be to follow substantive discussions with an analysis of how well people listen, what made the discussion good or poor, and what the class might do to improve discussions.
5. Be certain that all sides of an issue have been fairly and equally presented. Biased sources present an opportunity to develop students' skills in detecting bias. If representatives of one side of an issue are invited to class, the other side should be represented, too. Play devil's advocate to have students carefully examine all sides of an issue. Urge students to closely evaluate all positions before choosing one.

6. If you express your opinion on an issue, do so at the end of the unit and clearly indicate that it is your opinion only. Be certain to explain why you hold a particular view and tell students that you do not want them to change their views because of your personal beliefs.
7. Be aware of local standards. Issues that may be discussed freely in one community or school may not be suitable for discussion in another. If there are groups in your community that might take exception to discussion of certain issues, you and your school's administration should decide how to approach those issues.

HOW TO USE *CURRENT ISSUES*

Each of the parts of a *Current Issues* chapter offers unique opportunities for teaching. Consider using the following techniques to help you explore more fully the educational possibilities of each part.

Introduction

1. Ask students to identify policy questions raised in the introduction.
2. Share your own information and knowledge about the issue.
3. Urge students to talk to their parents about the issue.
4. Encourage students to read and to watch newspaper and television coverage of the issue.
5. Ask students:
    - What makes this topic a current issue?
    - What tone does the introduction set for the chapter?
    - How does this issue relate to others you have studied?
    - Why should a young person like you be interested in this issue?

Key Questions

1. Have students speculate on what they think are the key questions related to the issue before they read the "Key Questions" section.
2. Let students vote—either with a show of hands or on paper—their opinions on each key question. Share totals with the class. Repeat the vote again after students have read the chapter to see if opinions have changed.
3. Encourage students to focus their reading by keeping the key questions in mind throughout.
4. Use the key questions as items for surveys or questionnaires that students conduct with their peers or family members.

Note: The lower-reading-level *Current Issues* does not include "Key Questions" following the introduction, but you can convert the debate statements at the end of each chapter into key questions and use them in the same way as suggested above. Note also that, due to space constraints and to permit more in-depth analysis, the lower-reading-level *Current Issues* features only two of the three debate statements included in the standard edition.

Background

1. Discuss the effect of the past on the present and the importance of historical precedent.
2. Alert students to pay attention to unfamiliar terms and concepts as they are presented.
3. Ask students to predict what current issues will be presented, based on the background reading.
4. Relate major historical events in the background section to issues studied in other chapters and to material covered in other social studies courses.

Current Issues

1. Ask students to explain the most important aspect of this issue. Why is the issue included in *Current Issues* this year? Suggest that students read other sources to see if anything new has happened since the book was published.
2. Relate the issue to newspaper, magazine, and television coverage that students may be following.
3. Encourage students to share their views on the issues with friends, family, or government representatives.
4. Demonstrate the complexity of issues in class discussion by pointing out how issues overlap (e.g., crime and constitutional rights, immigration and education) and how U.S. issues affect others around the world (e.g., the U.S. economy and Europe, crime and drugs and Latin America).
5. Ask students to select one aspect of the issue that is of special interest to them and explain that aspect to the rest of the class.

Outlook

1. Ask students to characterize the "Outlook" section as positive, negative, or ambivalent. How do they personally feel about the outlook for the issue?
2. Relate the forecast in the "Outlook" section to the "Background" and "Current Issues" sections. Have students consider whether or not the chapter's look into the future was predictable.
3. Allow students to brainstorm ways they could effect change so that the projection in the "Outlook" section would be more to their liking.
4. Have students rewrite the "Outlook" section to make it agree with their views.

The Debate

1. Urge students to take a stand on each debate question. Have their views changed since the beginning of the unit? If so, have them explore why.
2. Help students analyze the arguments given for each side of the question. Is one side stronger than the other, or are the differences merely a matter of opinion?

3. Ask students to speculate on which side of the debate questions most people in their age group would stand. Then, ask them on which side they think most Americans would stand.
4. Have students find out their representative's and senators' views on the questions.
5. Ask students to label the views presented in the debate as liberal, conservative, or neither. Why did students label the issues as they did?
6. Discuss the interrelatedness of the issues. Is there any middle ground between the pro and the con arguments presented?

Charts, Graphs, Maps, Photos, and Cartoons

1. As students study the charts and graphs in *Current Issues,* remind them to do the following.
    - Determine the kind of illustration it is—bar graph, frequency curve, pictograph, or merely a list of data.
    - Note the title, because it is the key to understanding the chart or graph.
    - Pay attention to what both axes in a graph represent and to the scale being used.
    - Check the legend or key. What do all the shadings and symbols represent?
    - Find any trends or contrasts evident in the illustration.
    - Speculate on why the illustration was included.
2. By relating the maps used in *Current Issues* to the skills developed in social studies classes, you can help your students interpret these maps. The following reminders may also help.
    - Find the illustrated area on the globe to locate its position in the world. Find the scale of the map.
    - Check the map's key and legend.
    - Look at more detailed or larger maps of the same area if you want to find further information.
    - Notice the surrounding areas, and think about how geography affects the character of a nation or region.
    - How does the map help you understand the issue?
3. The photos and cartoons in *Current Issues* were all selected to clarify the issues. Remind students of the following.
    - Read the caption to learn more about the photo or cartoon and the issue at hand.
    - Speculate on why the photo or cartoon was included in the chapter.
    - Speculate on what message the photo or cartoon is trying to convey.

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES

A variety of additional teaching activities and devices are offered here to enhance your current issues course. These activities should complement the previous suggestions and tie together all portions of the units for your students.

You may wish to incorporate the following activities into the *Current Issues* units.

1. Maintain a current issues bulletin board in your classroom. Students should bring in newspaper and magazine articles relating to the issue under study and post them on the board.
2. Discuss general questions with the class, such as:
   - What makes an issue or part of the world important and critical?
   - What issues or regions were critical when your parents or grandparents were teens?
   - What issues or regions do you think will be important when your children or grandchildren are in high school?
3. Have students enter their thoughts and feelings about each lesson in a journal. The journal will allow students to express candidly their reactions to the issues they have just studied, and should be particularly valuable for students who have difficulty sharing their views in class. If students are willing to hand in their journals periodically, you may gain valuable information about their reactions to the lessons. Or students may wish to write reactions to a book or article they have read, a class activity, a recent headline, or comments from the class. If students wish, allow them to share their journal entries with the class.

Follow-up Activities

After you have completed your study of *Current Issues,* you may wish to use one or more of these follow-up activities to give students some feeling of closure. These activities will help students synthesize and evaluate the information they have learned and reinforce the interrelatedness of the issues.

1. Provide students with a list of all the issues you have studied and have them rank the issues. Students could rank the issues according to what they have learned, their personal preferences, and the issues' importance for study and discussion at this time. Then ask them to circle four or five issues that they consider to be most crucial to our times, and to justify their choices in a brief essay.
2. To demonstrate the interrelatedness of the issues they have studied, ask students to write an essay explaining: (1) how the issues affect one another, and (2) how the issues affect global relations. Students should incorporate as many issues as possible.
3. If students have kept journals, have them analyze their journals at the end of the course. Which issues have had the most profound effect on them? Why? Can they find any pattern to their reactions? Are their responses mostly positive, negative, or a mixture? Why do they think this is so? What would an outside reader think about their positions?

4. Try a sentence completion activity, either orally or in writing. Some suggestions for open-ended sentences include the following.
   - I wish we had studied more about ________________________________.
   - I wish we had spent less time on ________________________________.
   - My favorite learning activity was ________________________________.
   - The most important lesson I have learned from this course is __________.
   - In my opinion, the most important issue of our time is ______________.
5. As a concluding activity, break the students into groups of four or five. Their task is to revise the federal budget based on what they have learned about the domestic and foreign policy issues covered in this book.

   Have students read the chapter in *Current Issues* entitled "The Budget Deficit." Students should create their own budget by working together in groups and coming to agreement on the figures. Each group should be prepared to address the following questions.
   - What budget items did you cut? Why?
   - What budget items did you increase? Why?
   - Did you increase the entire budget? Why or why not?
   - What percentage of the entire budget is allotted to each category? Where is your greatest spending? Where is your least spending?
   - Did you add or delete any budget categories? Why?

Ask students what they learned from trying to balance spending needs and from getting their group to agree. Relate their experiences in developing a budget to those of Congress. What are the similarities and differences?

Duplicate each group's budget and distribute it to the class. Then, have each group present its budget. Encourage students to use visual aids such as a pie chart to clarify their budgets. Each group should be prepared to answer questions from the rest of the class. If time allows, you might ask the class to arrive at a consensus budget. This might best be accomplished by choosing a committee made up of one member from each group.

Note: To help students learn more about the budget process, you might want to obtain Close Up Publishing's budget role-play game, *Slicing the Pie*.

INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGIES

The *Current Issues Teacher's Guide* incorporates a wide range of activities. While you have undoubtedly developed a teaching style that works for you and your students and feels comfortable, educational research increasingly shows that the most successful teachers are those who can effectively apply a wide array of teaching strategies. The following section provides you with some general "tricks of the trade" and suggestions derived from experienced classroom instructors.

Brainstorming

Brainstorming is a technique for quickly generating a broad spectrum of ideas about a topic. Because no initial evaluation or discussion is allowed, brainstorming is a nonthreatening strategy that allows every student to participate regardless of academic ability. The topic for brainstorming should be clearly stated, allow for a diversity of ideas, and require no extensive prior knowledge for a student to become involved. Responses should be posted as students call them out, and no discussion should be permitted because it may inhibit creative but risky ideas. You may want to write the following brainstorming rules on the board before you start.

- Say anything that comes to mind.
- You can piggyback on the ideas of others.
- Do not evaluate or criticize what others say.
- When you cannot think of anything else, wait a minute and try again.

Another strategy for encouraging creativity is to apply the SCAMPER technique to each of the ideas suggested during brainstorming. SCAMPER allows the teacher to stimulate responses and organize them properly.

Conclude a brainstorming session by focusing students' attention on the purpose for conducting the activity.

SCAMPER TECHNIQUE

S-substitute, subtract
C-combine
A-adapt, add
M-modify, minify, magnify
P-put to other uses, piggyback
E-eliminate
R-reverse, rearrange

Debate

A debate can be an effective means of presenting most positions on current issues. It may be difficult to involve all students in a single debate, so nonteam members should serve as judges, moderators, or timekeepers to maintain interest. Holding several debates will allow all students to be on a debate team. The following debate procedures may be helpful when conducting a debate.

1. Select a topic—possibly one suggested by the class.
2. State the topic so that it has clear pro and con sides. For example: Federal funding for the homeless should be increased.
3. Select pro and con debaters and allow them time to research and prepare.

4. Select a timekeeper and a moderator.
5. Seat the debaters in front of the class with the moderator in the middle; position the side favoring the statement to the right of the moderator and the opponents to the left.
6. Begin the debate by having the moderator read the debate statement and introduce the first speaker supporting the statement. Speakers may talk only for a predetermined length of time.
7. The first opposition speaker then presents his or her arguments for the same amount of time. This format of alternating pro and con speakers continues until all speakers have presented initial arguments.
8. Rebuttal arguments are made for the specified amount of time, beginning with the group opposed to the statement.
9. Conclude the debate by polling the class. Discuss any changes of position in the audience. What were the most persuasive arguments presented by both sides?

Panel Discussion

A panel discussion is an effective means of researching and discussing a topic while allowing a sizable number of students to participate. The following guidelines may help you conduct a panel discussion.

1. The moderator introduces the topic and panelists.
2. Panelists present their views for a specified amount of time until all have spoken.
3. Panelists are given an opportunity to question other panelists and to discuss the issue.
4. The moderator closes the discussion with a summary of panel presentations.
5. The moderator calls for a forum period during which the class may question panelists.
6. Conclude the panel discussion by polling the class. Discuss any changes of position in the audience. What were the most persuasive arguments presented?

Classroom Use of Resource Persons

Local communities often offer a vast untapped resource. The Close Up Foundation has been a pioneer in using experts in the community to educate youth. Close Up staff believe that community members have much to offer students and should be included in school instruction as often as possible.

Teachers have often invited local citizens into their classes as guest lecturers. One of the most effective uses of resource persons is to provide students with a problem or issue similar to one that the resource person must face in his or her work.

Ask students what they would do in dealing with the problem or issue. Then have the resource person critique students' responses. This strategy has the benefit of limiting preparation time for the resource person because he or she simply has to apply professional knowledge in responding to students' problem-solving strategies or perspectives. In addition, such a tactic generates student interest because the resource person is bringing his or her expertise to bear on students' own ideas. This technique usually generates healthy discussion and a large number of questions.

Teachers and resource persons should always work together closely to plan the classroom visit. The following tips can help you prepare a resource person for a successful visit to your class.

1. Prepare the resource person. Tell him or her about the characteristics of your students, what they have been studying, and what to expect from them. Suggest topics you would like to have the person cover and find out what he or she requires for the presentation.
2. Prepare students adequately. Give necessary assignments far enough in advance so that students can complete them. Discuss the background of the resource person and explain procedures for the visit.
3. Have one or two students meet your guest and direct him or her to the classroom.
4. Have students prepare name tags or desk nameplates to help the resource person identify students.
5. Assist the resource person in classroom management if necessary. Do not leave the room.
6. Begin classroom activities immediately.
7. If necessary, help your visitor end the presentation and depart gracefully.
8. Provide the resource person with feedback about the presentation and write a note of appreciation.
9. Have alternatives planned just in case the resource person does not arrive. These alternatives should be educationally sound and fit in the context of the current unit of instruction.
10. You might want to give the resource persons the following do's and don'ts ahead of time to make them feel more comfortable.

    Do

    - consider the age and experience of the audience
    - prepare adequately
    - maintain eye contact
    - solicit feedback frequently
    - encourage active participation early on and throughout the presentation
    - be yourself; let your personality show; be natural; smile; relax
    - call on and interact with a variety of students
    - circulate around the room

- involve the teacher
- make sure everyone hears all questions and answers
- know the objectives of your visit and how the visit relates to what students have been studying

Don't

- lecture at students
- use jargon or unfamiliar words
- act condescendingly
- become angry at heckling or passive responses
- react defensively to criticism
- read a prepared speech
- talk in a monotone
- assume that students either have or lack knowledge about a given point (find out what they know)

Role-Plays and Simulations

One of the most effective instructional techniques, when used correctly, is role-play or simulation. This technique enables students to experience a situation from the perspective of persons actually involved in a similar situation. Role-plays and simulations are an effective means of transmitting knowledge, and they have a powerful effect on attitudes as well. Finally, role-plays and simulations are excellent ways of allowing students to examine a situation from all perspectives and practice critical thinking.

The following guidelines will help you conduct role-plays and simulations.

1. Present the problem, situation, or task clearly and make sure students understand what they are expected to do.
2. Involve everyone. If there are not enough roles for all students, create new ones or conduct several versions of the simulation at the same time.
3. Involve all students as quickly as possible.
4. Begin with simple activities. Students without experience in role-plays and simulations may require time to develop the skills necessary to do them well.
5. Consider having students reverse roles. Assign students to represent views that they do not advocate personally.
6. Help students identify appropriate sources of information that will inform them of the perspective of the group or person they represent. Allow students enough time to locate and analyze information and prepare their roles. Use this preparation time to talk with groups and individuals to gauge the degree to which they understand their roles.
7. Create an accepting environment where students can make mistakes, take risks, and be creative while being responsible. Do not expect polished performances immediately.

8. Conclude with a thorough discussion. Highlight the instructional objectives you had for the activity. What did you want students to gain from the activity? Relate the role-plays or simulations to what students had been and will be studying. Explore how students felt and what their feelings suggest about the people who experience the situation in real life. Did students feel that the roles they played were accurate representations of the real people? What did they learn from the experience?

Do not be discouraged if the role-play or simulation does not work well the first few times you use it. This technique can be difficult to use initially but pays handsome dividends once mastered.

Small-Group Cooperative Learning

Many teachers have been doing small-group work for years. Recent research suggests ways in which teachers can conduct small-group activities more effectively than by simply putting students into groups and assigning them a task.

The following guidelines will help you use cooperative small-group work.

1. Small-group activities can create opportunities for loss of control; therefore, such activities require class members to follow rules. Sample rules might include the following.
    - Move quickly and quietly to groups and remain there.
    - Talking between groups is prohibited.
    - Talking within groups must be done quietly.
    - All groups must have leaders whose task is to keep the group working, make sure that everyone participates, and keep discussions focused on the issues.
2. Organize groups heterogeneously and design group tasks in such a way that every student becomes involved.
3. Encourage students to help each other without actually doing the work of another group member. One way to encourage cooperation is to award grades based on individual work and grades based on the performance of the group. Design tasks so that each individual student can be assisted by his or her peers, but cannot have the peers do the work of the individual.
4. Help students develop the skills necessary to work well in small groups. You might review the content objectives of each activity and discuss the following questions.
    - What helped this group work well together?
    - What interfered with this group's working well together?
    - What could members do next time to help improve this group's work?
    - Did everyone participate? Why or why not?
5. Keep group size small; three to five students is optimal.
6. Give clear directions and allow adequate time for students to complete the task.

7. Monitor group activities to spot areas of difficulty.
8. Use small groups only for cooperative tasks, not for independent work while merely sitting with others.

Developing Research Skills

An essential part of every student's education is to learn how to research an issue, adopt a position, and argue persuasively for that position. Many students have few skills in these areas. If students are to obtain the information that they need to act as informed public policy shapers, they need your help in developing these essential skills. The following list of skills provides a handy sequential organizer whereby teachers can guide students through the research process.

1. Recognize that research should be aimed at gaining understanding and a complete view of an issue, not simply at gathering information to argue a predetermined point.
2. Learn how to limit a subject based on time and resources available.
3. Identify sources of appropriate information.
4. Use indexes, tables of contents, and other aids to locate pertinent information quickly.
5. Understand information in written, pictorial, graphic, cartographic, mathematical, and other formats.
6. Evaluate sources for information bias, accuracy, pertinence, and authority.
7. Take notes.
8. Organize information.
9. Analyze information and draw inferences.
10. Synthesize information and develop arguments.
11. Organize ideas.
12. Support ideas.
13. Articulate or write ideas in an organized and readable manner.
14. Document sources.

The Close Up staff hopes that the information presented in this introduction will make your task of teaching *Current Issues* easier and enrich the quality of instruction for your students. Each section of the introduction is designed to make *Current Issues* a more usable resource for your classroom and the comprehensive and motivational textbook you need to teach current issues effectively.

The lesson plans that follow offer specific teaching activities, test materials, and handouts for each chapter in *Current Issues*. The keys to using these lesson plans and each section of the *Current Issues* chapters have been presented in this introduction. These keys can open up new understanding and perspective for your students as they explore the current issues of our time.

LESSON PLANS

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Clinton Administration 23
The 105th Congress 23
The Supreme Court 23

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THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION
THE 105TH CONGRESS
THE SUPREME COURT

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Identify key members of the Clinton administration and their chief responsibilities.
2. Discuss the issues taken up the 104th and 105th Congresses.
3. Discuss the makeup and functions of the Supreme Court.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- associate justice
- Cabinet
- campaign finance reform
- chief justice
- conservative
- divided government
- legislative gridlock
- liberal
- political action committee (PAC)
- term limits

ACTIVITIES

1. To introduce the unit, ask students to define government. Discuss why government is necessary. Divide the class into small groups of three or four students and ask them to consider and jot down answers to the questions below. (Encourage students to be specific and to cite examples whenever possible.)

- What services and rights should you expect from the government?
- What impact does the government have on your daily life?
- What impact can you have on the government and its policies?
- What would happen if the government suddenly ceased to exist?

After an appropriate period of time, have a spokesperson from each group give his or her group's responses to the questions. Do all groups agree? Point out that differences of opinion on questions such as these reflect similar differences in political parties, Congress, and society at large.

Finally, ask students what conclusions they can draw from this discussion. Point out that it is vital that students be informed about all aspects of the operation of government, and that becoming informed is one of the goals of studying *Current Issues.*

2. After students read "The Clinton Administration," have them consider the following questions.

- What qualifications are common for high-level officials in the executive branch?
- Why do you think certain persons were selected for certain positions? Were they all qualified? Have they had other federal jobs?
- What common personal characteristics or traits do many officials in the executive branch share?

Next, using a wide variety of current events sources, have students identify controversial or important issues being faced by officials listed in "The Clinton Administration." You might want to assign each official to one or two students to ensure that all are covered. Students should consider how decisions made by these officials influence the country, students' friends and neighbors, and the students themselves. Discuss the political ideology of several of these men and women, and encourage students to predict their actions during the next year.

3. Open the discussion by asking the class what "separation of powers" means. Explain that in the American political system, each branch of government is assigned a specific function: the legislative branch—Congress—makes laws; the executive branch—led by the president—enforces laws; and the judicial branch—federal courts and the Supreme Court—interprets laws. Review with the class the historical reasons for adopting this system. Ask what problems separation of powers can and does cause.

Next, have students read "The 105th Congress," and then, working in pairs, allow them time to answer the questions on **Student Handout 1—Learning About Congress.** They can answer the first six questions from information in the chapter; they will have to use an outside resource to answer the last four questions. A local or state newspaper should provide the information.

After students have finished with the handout, lead a class discussion based on their answers. Conclude by asking students, based on what they have read, to speculate on the major issues Congress will likely take up in 1997 and 1998.

4. Begin the activity by asking students to imagine how society would operate if there were no courts to resolve differences of opinion. Discuss their responses. Then, point out some unique features of federal judges: (1) they are not elected; (2) they serve for life; and (3) they can only be removed from office through impeachment. Ask students to explain what the motives of the framers of the Constitution might have been for establishing such rules. (They wanted a judiciary free from political pressure and one that would base its decisions solely on the Constitution and the law rather than on what might be popular or politically expedient.)

Broaden the discussion by explaining that judges, like everyone else, have a broad range of opinions. The opinions they hold reveal whether they are liberal, conservative, or somewhere in between. Discuss with students how liberals and conservatives generally view the role of government in society. But also be sure to stress that attaching labels to political opinions can be misleading. Some Americans are liberal on social issues and conservative on economic issues. Others are just the opposite. In reality, most Americans consider themselves to be moderates in political ideology.

Focus the discussion by asking what difference it makes whether the Supreme Court has a liberal or a conservative majority. Students should read "The Supreme Court" in *Current Issues* and, either in class discussion or in writing, answer the following questions.

- What is the main function of the Supreme Court?
- How does the Court shape American political and social life?
- How has the Burger-Rehnquist Court differed in its decisions from the Warren Court?
- What influence did President Reagan have on the Supreme Court?
- What influence did President Bush have on the Court?
- What influence has President Clinton had on the Court?

★ **5.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Federal Government" section, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 20—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the branches of the federal government and the budget. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the federal government. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Encourage students to become and stay informed about current events by having them bring to class one article each week from a newspaper or magazine pertaining to a current issue. The article should be accompanied by a summary of its main points and the student's reaction to the issues it raises. By doing this, students will learn to appreciate that the U.S. political system is dynamic and flexible. Post the articles on a bulletin board under appropriate heads and spend a few minutes each day reviewing the new additions.

2. Have students research and write sketches of each Supreme Court justice. Urge them to pay particular attention to the justices' past records. Discuss each justice in class, and ask if justices ever change their political ideology once they are on the Supreme Court. Suggest some reasons why.

3. One often forgotten member of the administration is the vice president. Have students research the office of the vice president to find out what the qualifications are, what famous men have held the position, and what the vice president's duties are. Then lead a class discussion on these findings. How are vice presidential candidates chosen? Why did Bill Clinton choose Al Gore to be his running mate? Was Gore qualified? What qualifications was Bob Dole looking for when he chose his running mate in 1996? Have there been vice presidential candidates whose qualifications were questioned? Did any of them go on to become president? You might mention the concerns many had about Harry Truman's qualifications, or the fact that President Eisenhower had serious doubts about Richard Nixon and many advised Eisenhower to drop Nixon from the ticket in 1956.

LESSON PLANS

DOMESTIC POLICY ISSUES

The Budget Deficit 29
Constitutional Rights 33
Crime and Drugs..............................37
The Economy 41
Education 43
Environment 47
Health Care 51
Immigration....................................53
Poverty 57
Women and Minorities 61

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THE BUDGET DEFICIT

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Define concepts relating to the budget deficit and the national debt.
2. Recognize the difficulties in developing a budget and reducing the deficit.
3. Examine arguments presented by groups affected by budget decisions.
4. Identify the players in the budget process.

Terms and Concepts

- appropriation bill
- authorization bill
- balanced budget amendment
- budget deficit
- discretionary spending
- fiscal year
- joint budget resolution
- mandatory spending
- national debt
- Office of Management and Budget (OMB)
- privatization
- reconciliation bill
- revenue
- temporary spending

ACTIVITIES

1. Write on the board $1,687,500,000,000. Explain that this figure represents the federal budget for fiscal year 1998. Students should read "The Budget Deficit," paying close attention to the charts and graphs.

Then, divide the class into groups of not more than five, and distribute **Student Handout 2—Ranking the Budget.** Give groups adequate time in class to complete the first part of the handout or allow them to do it as a homework project. Point out that the twenty categories listed are merely representative of the hundreds of existing programs. When everyone is ready, have a representative from each group read its list. Compare the results. Can the entire class reach a consensus on the nation's budget priorities? Next, have the groups meet again to discuss the second part of **Student Handout 2,** which asks them to describe the economic, social, and political implications of their budget as it reflect their priorities.

Refer students to the chart on page 41 of the standard edition of *Current Issues* and page 40 of the lower-reading-level edition, which shows how federal money is spent. In the subsequent discussion, try to address the following issues.

- The federal deficit poses serious problems for all Americans.
- Reducing federal expenditures is difficult, especially given the likely public response to cuts in popular areas.
- Increasing taxes may be necessary to balance the budget.
- Congress and the president must cooperate during the budget process.
- The ideological positions held by leaders in the executive and legislative branches exert a powerful influence on the budget process.
- Balancing the federal budget is not easy.

2. Divide your class into four groups of equal size and assign each group to represent one of the following:

- defense contractors
- members of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP)
- supply-side economists
- the President's Council of Economic Advisers

The President's Council of Economic Advisers is looking for ways to reduce and eventually balance the federal budget deficit. It is considering the following proposals.

(1) raising tax revenues on wealthy Americans and eliminating tax breaks for corporations
(2) privatizing Social Security and cutting Medicare benefits
(3) making deeper cuts in the defense budget

The groups representing the defense contractors, supply-side economists, and AARP representatives should prepare arguments stating their positions for or against these proposals and pick one representative to argue their group's case in front of the Council of Economic Advisers. Each group should try to decide how these deficit reduction proposals would affect its interests. Meanwhile, the group representing the Council of Economic Advisers should be prepared to ask each group questions after its spokesperson has presented his or her arguments. After groups have testified, poll the entire class on which plan they believe would best bring down the deficit.

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in "The Budget Deficit," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 21—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the budget deficit. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

1. Organize classroom debates on the following statements.

- Congress should pass a balanced budget amendment.
- Congress should raise taxes to reduce the deficit.
- Social Security should be privatized.

Allow debaters adequate time to research their topics. Before beginning debates, select a timekeeper and a moderator to keep the debates orderly and to keep them moving. You may also want to select a panel of judges or simply poll the entire class at the end of each debate to determine a "winner." The affirmative, or pro side, should go first for a set length of time followed by the negative, or con side, for the same length of time. Then allow each side two minutes for rebuttal. After a "winner" has been determined, briefly discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments.

2. Ask members of your class to write letters to their representative or senators about the budget deficit or some aspect of the federal budget. They should carefully study a part of the budget or a tax in which they are interested or that may affect them and their families, and then express their views in a thoughtful letter. Discuss with them the most effective way to express a view in a letter and suggest they invite their members of Congress to respond. They can address letters to:

(Senator's name)
Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

or

(Representative's name)
House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Identify the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment.
2. Recognize the role of the Supreme Court in interpreting constitutional issues.
3. Investigate arguments on both sides of a controversial issue.
4. Compare student and adult attitudes on moment of silence requirements

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Bill of Rights
- Communications Decency Act
- due process
- euthanasia
- exclusionary rule
- federalism
- Fourteenth Amendment
- *Miranda* ruling
- moment of silence
- *Roe v. Wade*
- unenumerated rights

ACTIVITIES

1. Introduce the unit by familiarizing students with the Bill of Rights. Have students complete **Student Handout 3—Constitutional Amendments** using information provided in *Current Issues* and a copy of the Bill of Rights.

Review the handout in class to ensure that students are familiar with the rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and the Supreme Court decisions that have affected those rights. Then, use the following questions to lead a discussion about rights guaranteed in the Constitution.

- What does constitutional government mean? What are some characteristics of constitutional government?
- The First Amendment says "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech. . . ." What does this imply? Does the First Amendment grant rights to Americans, or does it protect them from government infringement on their rights?
- Why did some framers of the Constitution believe the rights of citizens had to be protected from the government?
- Do you think the framers meant to absolutely bar any restrictions of speech and press? What kinds of expression do you think may not be protected by the Constitution?
- What procedural rights does an accused person have?
- What does "due process" mean? Who should decide what is fair, the legislature or the courts?

Urge students to read the Bill of Rights and jot down any questions they would like to ask during the study of this unit.

2. Divide your class into four groups (if you have more than thirty students, use eight groups) and assign one of the following topics to each group.

- abortion
- euthanasia
- religious activity in public schools
- censorship of the Internet

Then, distribute **Student Handout 4—Topic Research** and give students sufficient time to complete the handout. Groups should answer the questions on their handouts as they apply to the topics they were assigned. Remind the students that they will be responsible for reporting back to the entire class. After they have finished with the handout, have each group report its findings to the class and allow the rest of the students to question group members. As the teacher, you may want to play devil's advocate by pressing groups to explain their reasoning. Encourage their classmates to pose tough questions to the presenters.

3. Divide the class into two groups of equal size. Label them A and B. Then, tell students that individually they are going to poll a small number of people either in or out of school to find out opinions about moment of silence requirements in school.

Both groups will ask the following question of the people its members poll.

- Should students be required to engage in a moment of silence each day in school?

Each member of group A will ask this question of three high school students. Group B will ask this same question of three adults in the community. Group members should not poll an individual that someone else has previously polled.

Set a time limit for completion of the poll. Then, get the groups together to tabulate results. They should determine the number of respondents who said "no" and the number who said "yes." When both groups have finished, post the results on the board and lead a discussion based on the outcome. What do the results show about community attitudes on this matter? Do students have significantly different opinions than adults? What comments did respondents make after they answered the question?

★ **4.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Constitutional Rights" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 22—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about constitutional rights. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on constitutional rights. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. The role of the Supreme Court in interpreting the Bill of Rights is vitally important. Have students research key cases in which the Court has addressed constitutional rights. Listed below are some suggestions for research.

Cases dealing with freedom of belief:
- *School District of Abington v. Schempp* (1963)
- *Welsh v. United States* (1970)
- *Wallace v. Jaffree* (1985)

Cases dealing with freedom of expression:
- *New York Times v. United States* (1971)
- *Miller v. California* (1973)
- *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier* (1988)
- *Texas v. Johnson* (1989)

Cases dealing with rights of the accused:
- *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963)
- *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966)
- *In re Gault* (1967)
- *United States v. Garrison* (1984)
- *Maryland v. Garrison* (1987)
- *United States v. Salerno* (1987)

2. One way of teaching students to appreciate the freedoms enjoyed by Americans is to have them compare civil liberties in the United States with civil liberties in other countries. Assign various countries to interested students and have them report back to the class. It may be interesting for them to report on rights in nations such as Canada, China, Cuba, Iran, and Russia.

CRIME AND DRUGS

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Separate fact and opinion about crime and drugs in the United States.
2. Survey community attitudes about crime and drugs.
3. Analyze graphs and charts.

Terms and Concepts

- Brady bill
- domestic terrorism
- drug trafficking
- gun control
- Second Amendment
- "three strikes and you're out"
- mandatory sentencing
- Office of National Drug Control Policy
- Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994

ACTIVITIES

1. Begin by telling students that you are going to read several statements relating to the issues of crime and illegal drug use in the United States, and that after each statement is read they are going to move to one side of the room or the other, depending on whether they think the statement is fact or opinion. Students who think the statement is a fact should line up on the left side of the room; students who think the statement is an opinion should line up on the right side. Begin with the first statement on the following list.

- About 1.8 million violent crimes are committed in the United States every year. (fact)
- The illegal drug trade encourages violence and crime in U.S. cities. (opinion)
- The roots of crime are unemployment and poverty. (opinion)
- Of every 1,000 people arrested for violent crimes, only 350 are ever sent to prison. (fact)
- The drug problem would lessen if the government spent more money fighting the demand for drugs rather than the supply. (opinion)
- The only way violent crime in the United States can be curbed is by limiting or banning handgun possession. (opinion)
- The majority of Americans polled on the matter believe that the government should fight crime by getting tougher on criminals. (fact)
- Drug abuse is a problem only for young, low-income, and minority Americans. (opinion)
- A high percentage of people in prison are guilty of drug-related crimes. (fact)
- In 1995 and 1996, the violent crime rate dropped in major U.S. cities. (fact)
- Most federal crime legislation passed during the 1980s and 1990s emphasizes enforcement and punishment over crime prevention. (fact)

After students react to each statement and both sides have stabilized, ask several students from each side to explain their position. Allow students to interact and ask questions of each other, but remind them that this is a discussion and an opportunity for you to determine what previous knowledge they have about the topic.

When all statements have been read, discuss how they can tell if a statement is a fact or an opinion. (Facts are based on supportive numbers, statistics, or documented evidence; opinions are based on a belief, an interpretation, or an impression.)

Conclude by reading each statement again and asking students to identify the specific information or words that distinguish it as fact or opinion.

2. After students have read "Crime and Drugs," tell them that they are going to find out how members of their community feel about crime. Distribute copies of **Student Handout 5—Community Crime Survey** to each member of the class. Then, have each student survey five people who live in their community. They should mark all five respondents' answers on one copy of the handout.

After students have completed the survey, bring them back together and tally the results on the board. Do the results of the survey show any clear attitudes about crime or drugs in your community? Discuss each item and why students think people responded as they did. Pay particular attention to items on which respondents were clearly divided. Ask class members if they think the gender, income, education, or religion of respondents had any bearing on the outcome.

You might want to follow up this activity by asking the school or community newspapers to publish the results. Perhaps your students could write letters to the editor to accompany the results of the survey.

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Crime and Drugs" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 23—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about crime and drugs. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on crime and drugs. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students research crime statistics in your city and/or state. They should go to local police departments or read court records to find out the number of arrests and convictions for violent crimes for the most recent year or two years. They should also attempt to find out how many of those arrests and convictions were drug related. Ask them to compare the most recent statistics with earlier years and conclude whether or not violent crime is rising or falling.

2. Invite speakers to class to talk to your students about gun control. Ask a representative from each side of the issue to state why he or she is for or against stiffer gun control laws. Likely speakers would come from groups such as the National Rifle Association; Handgun Control, Inc.; police departments; shooting clubs; and other organizations that have taken a stand on the issue. It may also be interesting to invite a constitutional lawyer to address the issue from the perspective of the Second Amendment. To help your students better understand the issue of gun control, you may want to obtain from Close Up Publishing a copy of the videotape *To Keep and Bear Arms: Gun Control and the Second Amendment.*

3. Divide the class into two groups. Then, have each student in one group write one paragraph favoring and one paragraph opposing the following statement.

- The federal government should fight drugs by attacking the supply of drugs coming into the United States rather than trying to reduce the demand.

The second group should write similar paragraphs about this statement:

- If the voters in a state approve, marijuana should be made legal to use for medical purposes.

When class members have finished writing their paragraphs, ask students from both groups to read their pro and con arguments. Discuss both sides of the issues with the class. Conclude by asking for a show of hands to find out how your students feel about the issues.

THE ECONOMY

Student Objectives

Students will:

1. Recognize the interdependence of economic issues.
2. Respond to questions based on readings.

ACTIVITIES

1. Begin by pointing out to students that many relationships among the economic concepts described in "The Economy" may not always be readily apparent to them. Then, distribute **Student Handout 6—Cause/Effect Relationships.** Divide the class into groups of three or four, and ask each group to analyze each pair of terms listed on the handout. They should try to determine how the two terms in each pair relate to each other. When groups have finished, have the whole class analyze the items on the handout. Use the discussion guide below to help you lead the class discussion. Encourage students to offer any additional relationships they may have noted along the way.

Discussion Guide for Student Handout 6

1. If other countries produce more, they can spread their costs among more products, thereby reducing the sale price of individual items.
2. People buy fewer American products and more foreign products when the dollar rises. Therefore, American companies may close down or reduce their workforce.
3. When the government overspends, it has to borrow money to pay its bills. This means that both the government and consumers are asking banks for loans. When demand goes up, prices generally follow. Interest rates work the same way: When demand for money is high, interest rates go up.
4. If businesses have to pay more to borrow money, they will be reluctant to expand. They will, therefore, be less likely to hire new workers.
5. If the value of money goes down (inflation), people have little incentive to save. Therefore, banks have less money to loan to consumers or businesses.
6. If taxes are reduced, businesses can keep more of their profits to use for expansion. Thus, they will likely hire more workers.
7. When people are laid off, they can collect unemployment compensation. When unemployment rises, the government has to pay more for unemployment compensation, causing the deficit to worsen. Plus, unemployed people pay less in taxes; this also adds to the deficit.
8. When Americans reduce the number of foreign products they buy, they reduce the income of foreigners. Thus, foreigners have less money to spend on imports from the United States.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- budget deficit
- Consumer Price Index (CPI)
- Federal Reserve Board
- flat tax
- Group of Seven (G-7)
- income gap
- inflation
- international interdependence
- minimum wage
- national sales tax
- productivity
- recession
- supply-side economics
- unemployment

2. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "The Economy," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 24—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the economy. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class, and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the economy. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students create a visual expression of a position they support from the "Debate" section of the chapter. Their visual could be in the form of a diagram, a set of political cartoons, a collage, or any other medium they wish to use. Tell them that they should illustrate their positions effectively enough so that others in the class can know exactly what their positions are by viewing the illustration. Once the visuals are finished, display together all those that represent the same topic. In a class discussion, have students analyze the illustrations. Which are the most powerful? Which would the current administration most support? Which would be most supported by the party out of power?

2. Organize debates on the key questions in "The Economy."

- The government should do more to close the income gap.
- The government should abandon the current tax system.
- The government should do more to retrain displaced workers.

Refer to the section on page 15 under "Instructional Strategies" to get tips on organizing and conducting your debates.

EDUCATION

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Identify problems and reform efforts in U.S. public schools.
2. Debate issues of federal involvement, school choice, and multicultural curricula.
3. Match vocabulary words with appropriate descriptions.
4. Analyze charts and photos.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- busing
- defaulted loans
- desegregation
- Goals 2000: Educate America Act
- Great Society
- Head Start
- magnet schools
- multicultural education
- national standards
- school choice
- vouchers

ACTIVITIES

1. After students have read "Education" in *Current Issues,* ask them to list the problems identified in the chapter. Then, in a class discussion, have them identify reforms that some districts and schools have made in response to the problems.

Once students understand the basic problems in education today and the types of reforms that are being implemented in school districts around the nation, have them do research on how the problems and reforms apply to your school district.

First, divide the class into groups of four or five. Then, tell students that they are going to present a mock television report called "Channel 99 Roving Reporter—Focus on Our School." They are going to report on the status of their school in relation to the problems and reforms identified in *Current Issues.* Each group should choose which research topic or topics to investigate. Sample topics are listed at the end of this activity; others could be added. Some topics will take more time to investigate than others, so divide them among student groups accordingly.

Student Handout 7—Research Outline can be used to help students organize their research. They should talk with teachers, counselors, administrators, and district personnel to learn pertinent information. After students have collected this information, they need to analyze the material and write down their thoughts. What changes do they think should be implemented to deal with the problems? What are the costs and/or benefits of such changes?

On the day of the mock TV report, have members from each group report to the class, taking the roles of reporters. Urge the rest of the class to question the reporters about their topic. If you have video equipment, tape the session.

To conclude the activity, ask students which reforms or changes they think should be implemented. Which ones may take time to implement? Which could be implemented quickly? How might the quality of their education be affected by implementation of their ideas?

Sample Research Topics:

- funding sources for the local school district and areas of possible budget cuts
- local district teachers' salaries compared to neighboring districts and to professions requiring similar educational levels
- local district testing program—what is tested, at what grade levels, and conclusions drawn from the test results
- school reforms in your state and district in the past ten years
- percentage of district funds used for students with special needs, including any construction costs incurred to make buildings more accessible for students with physical disabilities
- district and state drop-out rates and how they are calculated
- graduation rate of students starting first grade
- state and federal requirements your district must meet
- comparison of per-pupil costs in your district with similar neighboring districts
- cost, benefit, and nature of program for instructing non-English-speaking students in your school or district
- programs for educating students who speak English as a second language
- charter schools, vouchers, or other alternative education programs in your district

2. Organize a debate over the issues raised by "Key Questions" in the "Education" chapter. Do not tell students which side or which issue they will actually debate until five or ten minutes before the debate begins. This tactic will force students to prepare to debate all three issues from both sides. Urge them to read *Current Issues* carefully, along with other outside sources such as newspapers and newsmagazines. Debate the following statements.

- The federal government should play a major role in improving U.S. schools.
- Parents should be allowed to choose their children's schools.
- Universities should adopt multicultural curricula.

Select students for issues and sides in any way you think best—either by having them state their preferences or by drawing names out of a hat. You may want to select small teams of students to represent each topic and side and allow them to prepare their arguments as a team, or you may wish to have students debate one-on-one. After each issue has been debated, ask the class which arguments were most persuasive. Ask debaters if their views changed or if they better understand the position of the other side.

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "Education," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 25—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about education in America. Ask students to read their answers in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on education. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Regarding the question "Should parents be allowed to choose their children's public schools?" ask students if they would attend a different school if they could choose. Why would they stay or why would they change? What would they look for in another school? Would their classmates leave in great numbers to go to other schools? Why or why not?

2. Supporters of charter schools or other alternative schools often say that schools should be run like a business. They believe that such schools would succeed only if they could "sell" themselves to potential customers. Divide your class into small groups and ask each group to decide what kind of school they would offer if they could, and then develop a plan to "sell" their school to the rest of the class. They should come up with an advertising campaign that will make their school look so attractive that everyone will want to go there. After groups have finished, have each one make its presentation in front of the class.

3. Have your class conduct a survey to find out how many students in your school have part-time jobs. You might want to divide the class into several groups, with each group surveying a particular segment of students. For example, each of three or four groups could survey one grade in your school. Or, there may be some other groups in your school that you think might be interesting to survey. Dividing respondents into particular groups like this will allow your class to compare statistics and observe trends. Surveys should find out the following from each respondent.

- hours worked per week
- time of day respondent works (during school hours, after school, evening, or early morning)
- type of work
- gender of student
- reason for working
- extracurricular activities
- effect of job on school work

You may add to or subtract from this list as you see fit. Tally survey results and post them on the board or make copies for all to see. Discuss the results and their implications in class. It might be interesting for the school newspaper to publish the results of your class's survey.

ENVIRONMENT

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Identify major types of pollution and their respective sources and effects.
2. Evaluate public policy options such as reducing acid rain and charging polluters for the cleanup of the environment.
3. Discuss steps they can take to protect the environment.
4. Explain how environmental issues are examples of interdependence and individual civic responsibility.
5. Identify consequences of environmental dangers.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- acid rain
- biodiversity
- CFCs
- Earth Summit
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
- global warming
- grazing fees
- greenhouse effect
- Montreal Protocol
- ozone layer
- recyclables
- Superfund
- toxic waste

ACTIVITIES

1. To introduce the unit, have students look for examples of pollution in their school. Answers might range from graffiti on bathroom walls to litter around the school building. Write their answers on the board and ask students to place items on the list in categories (visual, noise, air, and so forth).

Then ask students to determine the causes of the various types of pollution listed. Causes may include careless students or teachers, cars in the parking lot, improper disposal of trash, and others. Which of the pollutants do they find most offensive? Why? What can be done to stop the polluting?

Next ask students to think about their community. What types of pollution identified on their school list also apply to the community? Are the causes and sources the same? What additional pollutants exist in the community? What are their causes? Which community pollutants concern them most? Is anything being done about pollution levels in the community? If not, why not?

Now, students should think about the larger region in which their community is located. Are there other types of pollution that affect their region that have not already been mentioned? What are their causes? Is anything being done about them? If not, why not?

Finally, ask students to draw tentative conclusions from the discussion. What more would they like to know? Why is the environment an important issue? If students are not familiar with the meanings of the words in the "Terms and Concepts" list, review the meanings with them.

2. Have students read the "Background" section in the "Environment" chapter of *Current Issues*. They will need to use this information and the information in the "Major Environmental Laws and Treaties" chart on page 109 in the standard edition of *Current Issues* and page 110 in the lower reading-level edition to complete **Student Handout 8—Pollution Analysis.** This handout, when completed, will give students an overview of seven major types of pollution, their causes, their effect on the environment, and legislation that deals with each type of pollution. The information on the table will be very useful to the students when they are doing research for other activities related to the environment.

The "Environment" chapter in *Current Issues* will furnish most of the information needed to complete the handout, but not all of it. When students have completed as much of the table as they can, divide them into groups of four or five and have each group finish one of the incomplete sections using library resources to find the remaining information. Once the handouts are completed, have each group report its findings to the rest of the class. Ask students to analyze the information on the handouts and answer the following questions.

- Is the world facing an environmental crisis, or have the problems been exaggerated? Why or why not?
- Has legislation been effective in dealing with environmental issues? Should the government take additional action? Why or why not? Should the government relax federal regulations to help businesses and the economy? Why or why not?
- Is today's environment better or worse than it was twenty-five years ago? Explain your answer.
- Would you be willing to pay more for products or pay higher taxes for stricter environmental protection? How might this affect your standard of living?

Use student answers to these questions as a basis for a class discussion.

3. Have the class select the local environmental issue they think is most pressing. Students should gather information on this problem. Once they understand the basic problem, they should develop a list of questions they want to ask local politicians, business representatives, and environmentalists about the issue. Then ask students to choose one or more of the following activities.

- Have students write or call offices of their U.S. and state senators and representatives. Ask them to find out where these legislators stand on the matter and what they propose as a solution. Legislators will likely make their opinions known over the phone or in follow-up letters.
- If the issue they chose is affected by local businesses, have students contact one or two of the businesses and ask the company or companies to send representatives to talk to the class.
- Have students find out which local environmental groups are active in their area. Is there a branch of the Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, Greenpeace, Defenders of Wildlife, or Friends of the Earth nearby? Students should contact one of the environmental groups and invite a representative to the class to discuss the local issue. Students should prepare questions for the speakers, asking what is their role in the issue, what they suggest should be done, and what has been done.

- Ask interested students to write a letter to the editor of their local or school newspaper explaining how this problem affects the community, both directly and indirectly.

Once students have concluded their research and interviews, have them create a display that is based on the facts they have gathered and the actions they think should be taken.

4. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Environment" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 26—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the environment. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the environment. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Ask students to identify significant environmental problems facing the United States today. Once the list is on the board, have the class rank the problems. Then, ask each student to take the list—with the order of issues scrambled—and give it to five other people of different age groups. They should ask each person to rank the list of problems.

Back in class, collect all the lists, divide them into age groups, and try to determine if there is a pattern to how each age group ranked the problems. Put the resulting lists on the board or on large sheets of paper and hang them on the wall. Did the age groups perceive the significance of environmental concerns differently? Have students speculate as to why this might be. How might age and experience affect one's perceptions? Did any of the rankings surprise the class? How might they account for this unexpected ranking? Do any of the rankings indicate lack of information about the issues? Why might this be?

2. Ask students to pretend they are spokespersons for the Clinton administration. A decision has been made to open federal land to oil and gas companies. They should write a letter, which will be placed in a time capsule to be opened in 100 years, explaining this action to future generations.

HEALTH CARE

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Describe the reasons for rapidly rising health care costs.
2. Examine why specific special interest groups supported or opposed President Clinton's plan for universal health insurance.
3. Identify and define key terms related to the health care issue.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS)
- deductible
- health maintenance organizations (HMOs)
- Health Insurance Portability Act
- human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)
- malpractice
- managed care
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- universal coverage

ACTIVITIES

1. Distribute **Student Handout 9—Student Survey.** Have students mark each statement "true" or "false." Point out that this is a survey measuring perception rather than a test measuring factual knowledge. When everyone is done, consider each item individually, polling the students on whether they think the statement is true or false. Encourage students to explain their answers, drawing from their own experiences if possible. After the discussion, explain to the class that all the statements are true.

Next, have students read the introduction to the "Health Care" chapter in *Current Issues*. Discuss with them the reasons for rising health care costs. Broaden the discussion by asking them how people can cope with this problem. Point out that most Americans are covered by private health insurance and that medical insurance is a common fringe benefit for employees, yet nearly 37 million Americans have no health insurance. Ask students to think of ways in which America's health care problems might affect them personally. List their responses on the board and discuss why they are important. Responses may include such concerns as increased taxes, family stresses caused by health care expenses, or reductions in other government services that provide benefits such as student loans.

2. Early in his first term, President Clinton proposed a plan that would provide health insurance to all Americans. However, several special interest groups opposed his plan. Polls showed that middle-class Americans with health insurance feared reduced benefits and increased costs. (You may wish to remind students of the Health Insurance Association of America's successful ad campaign, which featured a middle-class couple, Harry and Louise, who questioned whether they would be able to keep their personal physician and what services would be covered.) Assign two or three students to research and present the perspective of one of the following groups to the class.

- public hospital administrators
- older Americans
- middle-class Americans with insurance
- part-time employees without medical insurance as part of their employee benefits

- Americans with disabilities
- private insurance companies
- small business owners

Using newspapers and journals, have students research how their assigned group reacted to the Clinton proposal. Why did their group support or oppose Clinton's plan? What did their group want from a health care plan? What did their group lobby against? Have each group state the argument for their special interest group. Encourage students to point out conflicts that their special interest group will have with other special interest groups. After all groups have had an opportunity to present their side, ask students to develop a policy that they think would best protect the interests of all citizens.

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Health Care" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 27—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about health care. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to expand your unit on health care in the United States. You may find them valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. If possible, have students invite parents, grandparents, physicians, and insurance brokers to sit on a panel discussing health issues. Students should prepare questions regarding Medicare, Medicaid, and other types of health insurance. Questions can range from the technical to personal experiences with health costs and medical care. Select one group of students to compile and edit questions submitted by the class and another to ask questions of the panel. If possible, students should make most of the arrangements.

2. One proposal to cut Medicare costs to the government has been to make older Americans pay higher monthly premiums for supplemental coverage. Ask students to interview one older person who is eligible for Medicare and one younger working person to find out their opinions about that proposal. Students should then write a one-page report on their findings and read their reports to the class.

IMMIGRATION

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Discuss which people can be called Americans and why.
2. Evaluate government policies toward immigrants.
3. Identify important U.S. immigration laws.
4. Defend or oppose an "English only" policy.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- amnesty
- Anti-Terrorism Act
- assimilation
- immigrant
- 1996 Immigration Act
- official language
- Proposition 187
- quotas
- refugee

ACTIVITIES

1. To introduce the study of immigration, write the following questions on the board and have students share their responses.

- Who is an American?
- Are some people more American than others?

In the ensuing discussion, students may make ethnocentric or stereotypical statements, especially in response to the second question. Identify such statements. Ask students what negative consequences might result when certain people think that they are more American than other people. How might the community be affected by these consequences?

Emphasize the following points.

- An American is any inhabitant of North or South America.
- A U.S. citizen is anyone who was born in the United States, born of a U.S. citizen, or naturalized.
- Every nonnaturalized citizen is a descendant of an immigrant.
- American Indians, although often called "Native Americans," are descendants of people who probably came over the Bering Strait from Asia thousands of years ago.
- More than 50 million people have immigrated to the United States.

To conclude the activity, discuss key questions from "Immigration" in *Current Issues.*

2. Divide the class into groups of no more than five students. Distribute **Student Handout 10—Immigration Candidates.** Briefly review the instructions. Tell students that their groups have fifteen minutes to decide which, if any, of the candidates should be admitted to the United States.

Then, discuss student responses. Encourage them to explain their choices and tell which subjects caused the most division among the group members. Next, broaden the discussion by asking why immigrants come to the United States. Point out that most reasons can be classified into four categories: political, economic, religious, or family reunification.

Explain that the present law sets up a system of preferences. First priority is given to family members of U.S. citizens, followed by family members of lawfully admitted aliens. Third priority is given to members of professions in the arts and sciences. Last priority is given to skilled and unskilled workers who fill a labor shortage in the United States. Ask the class, "Does this preference system force you to change your decisions about who should be allowed in and who should be denied entrance?"

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Immigration" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 28—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about immigration. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on immigration. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. To prepare for a mock hearing of a Presidential Immigration Commission, divide the class into the following seven groups.

- California farmers
- border patrol officers
- employers of illegal aliens
- labor union officials
- immigrants legally residing in the United States
- public officials of a U.S.–Mexican border city
- the Presidential Immigration Commission

The group representing the Presidential Immigration Commission should prepare by studying current immigration laws and discussing the procedures they will use in the hearing. Meanwhile, using information from *Current Issues* and other sources, the other six groups should do the following.

- Identify their interests in, and concerns with, current immigration laws.
- Develop arguments supporting the interests they have identified.
- Collect evidence supporting their arguments.
- Identify areas where they may be willing to negotiate and compromise.

- Speculate on arguments that their opponents may use and develop a response to each argument.

When the groups have completed their work, conduct a hearing by the Presidential Immigration Commission. The commission's job is to develop a federal immigration policy to recommend to the president and Congress. The commission should attempt to draft a policy that satisfies—or is at least an acceptable compromise for—everyone. Emphasize to students that all sides may have to sacrifice some policies to get others that they believe are more important. The commission should be familiar enough with current immigration legislation to make accurate recommendations. After each group has presented its position before the commission and all sides have had a chance to negotiate, the commission should come up with a final recommendation.

After the commission has presented its recommendation, ask students to abandon the identities they had in their groups and discuss the issues from their personal perspectives. They should refer to the pro/con positions they developed earlier. Has this exercise changed their positions? Why or why not? If they think the policy developed by the commission still presents a problem, what solution do they offer? Remind them of the need to satisfy a range of constituencies, as represented in the hearing. Finally, compare their solutions with recently enacted immigration laws. What are the similarities and differences?

Conclude with a discussion of what students learned from the mock hearing. Emphasize the difficulty of reaching decisions when many different opinions are held and the value of compromise in a democracy.

2. Invite a recent immigrant to speak to the class. Have students develop questions the day before the interview. Sample questions might include the following.

- Why did you come to the United States?
- What problems did you face or do you continue to face?
- How are you dealing with these problems?
- Do you believe that the United States is the land of opportunity?
- What has surprised you most about the United States?
- What do you miss most about your native country?
- If you knew then what you know now, would you still have come to the United States?

POVERTY

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Explain why various age and income groups often disagree on the role government should play in alleviating poverty.
2. Analyze the relationship between federally guaranteed welfare and finding work.
3. Identify and define key terms and programs related to poverty.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
- earned-income tax credit (EITC)
- empowerment zones
- entitlement
- food stamps
- Great Society
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- New Deal
- Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996
- Social Security

ACTIVITIES

1. Tell students that they are going to participate in a Senate hearing on domestic social problems. Some of the students will form a Senate committee, while the rest will represent a variety of interest groups expressing opinions about the following policies before the committee.

- The states will do a better job controlling welfare.
- The government should offer financial assistance to the working poor.
- The government should provide funds to expand empowerment zones in areas where unemployment and poverty are high.

Divide students into the Senate committee and the following fictional special interest groups.

- National Association of Single Parents
- United New Business Owners Association
- Society of Urban Dwellers
- United Parents of College Students
- United States Taxpayers Association
- American Association for Minimum Wage Earners

Allow some time for the groups to prepare their statements about the three issues. Each should decide what policies are best for its members and prepare its statement accordingly. Then, have each group appear separately before the Senate committee to present its views. After presenting its statement, each group should be questioned by members of the Senate committee. The committee should prepare questions related to the issues at hand.

After all groups have presented their views and been questioned by the committee, lead a class discussion about the hearing. Ask the class to discuss the best pro and con arguments and supporting data for each of the three issues. If they were senators, how would they vote on each issue and why? What has this simulation taught them about why the political system often has difficulty establishing and funding social programs?

2. Write the following question on the board: What is a generalization? Then, ask students to respond to it. Explain that if there are no supporting facts, a generalization may not be correct. After a brief discussion, distribute **Student Handout 11—Supporting Generalizations with Facts.** Make sure all students understand the instructions on the handout. Allow them time to work on the task in class, or assign it as homework.

Next, review student responses to the items on the handout. Try to ensure that both sides of each argument are equally represented. While responses will vary, some possible answers include the following.

- Agree: States may be able to provide financial assistance to their poor people until the states run into financial trouble; then the federal government must be there to provide the safety net. States are not prepared to find jobs for all the people they take off welfare roles.

  Disagree: Guaranteed checks from the federal government only perpetuate poverty. When people understand that their state will help them for only a limited amount of time, they will get jobs. States know best how to administer welfare to their people.
- Agree: The federal government should invest in tax-free empowerment zones to improve the economy of economically depressed areas.

  Disagree: The federal government should not invest huge sums of money to establish tax-free empowerment zones that are doomed to fail.
- Agree: Despite nearly sixty years of government social programs, millions of people still live in poverty. Programs such as AFDC provided reduced benefits to the working poor, thus discouraging welfare recipients from seeking work.

  Disagree: Most AFDC recipients were single mothers who supported themselves and their children almost entirely through the welfare system. If it were not for public housing, even more people would be homeless.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the issues raised in the "Poverty" chapter, have them complete **Student Handout 29—Learning New Information.** You may wish to have students complete the assignment individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about poverty. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on poverty. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students call or visit their local welfare or state employment office to find out basic information on the qualifications and procedures for applying for an entitlement program. Programs to consider for this project include the following:

- state and local welfare benefits
- food stamps
- Medicaid
- Medicare
- public housing
- Supplemental Security Income (SSI)

If possible, students should get an application form and interview a welfare or employment office worker about the application process. How would they feel if they were really applying for this program? Do they think benefits should be easier or harder to get? What was their general impression of the process?

2. Ask students to conduct an informal poll posing one of the following questions to a cross section of members of the community.

- What is your opinion of the government giving an income tax credit to a worker whose family income falls below the poverty level?
- What is your opinion of turning control of welfare over to the states?

Care should be taken to include several different age groups in the poll, ranging from teenagers to retired people. Have students write up the results of the poll, creating a table or graph to better illustrate their findings. Some direct quotes from survey participants should be included.

3. Have students research the problems associated with welfare and welfare reform and then draw up their own welfare reform proposal. Ask students to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the welfare reform law of 1996 and compare it with their own proposals.

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Define affirmative action.
2. Discuss discrimination and steps taken to combat it.
3. Analyze photographs.
4. Examine the vocabulary of the chapter.

ACTIVITIES

1. Begin by asking students to define "affirmative action." Relate affirmative action to the American belief in equality of opportunity. Discuss with students whether racial and ethnic groups and women who have been victims of discrimination should be compensated in some way by the government.

To focus the discussion, distribute **Student Handout 12—Discrimination Cases.** Allow enough time for the students to consider each situation. Then, discuss the issues raised in the handout. The following questions may help you lead the discussion.

- If you support affirmative action for an African American or Mexican American in any of the cases, would you also support it for a white American whose family is dysfunctional and has a low income and who attended a bad school?
- Do minority Americans who do not come from low-income families or who did not go to bad schools have a moral claim against society because their ancestors were oppressed?

Encourage debate on each case, and remind students that emotion alone is not an adequate basis for argument. What conclusion can students draw from this discussion? Why is this an emotional issue? Relate the discussion in class to a debate Congress may have on affirmative action, quotas, and civil rights.

2. Begin by having students discuss their own experiences. Have they ever been victims of discrimination? If so, in what ways? How did they react to their experiences? Do they think they have ever knowingly discriminated against someone else? What caused them to do so? Do students have different expectations for males and females? Do students feel discomfort when they are around a disabled person? Do they feel disabled students should be mainstreamed?

Follow this opening discussion by telling students to talk to their parents and grandparents or others in the community about what they remember about discrimination, the civil rights movement, and how women's roles have changed in their lifetimes. They should jot down notes as they talk to members of their family

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- affirmative action
- Americans with Disabilities Act
- *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Defense of Marriage Act
- domestic partners
- Equal Pay Act
- "Jim Crow" laws
- *Plessy v. Ferguson*
- poll tax
- Proposition 209
- suffragists
- Voting Rights Act

and community, and then share this informal oral history with the class the next day. How do the stories compare?

Finally, divide the class into discussion groups of four or five for the purpose of defining prejudice and discrimination, talking about personal attitudes, and developing a short report on how prejudice comes about and what can or should be done to prevent it. Each group (or you) should choose a group leader to keep the discussion moving and orderly and to write the final report. As group discussions proceed, students should jot down notes to help them and their group leader prepare the paper. The reports should define prejudice and tell what kinds of discrimination exist today. They should tell who the likely victims of discrimination are and will be and speculate on what causes discrimination. Finally, the reports should offer solutions to discrimination and prejudice in the United States. After groups have had sufficient time, ask each group leader to report on his or her group's discussion and be prepared to answer questions from the rest of the class.

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Women and Minorities" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 30—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about women and minorities. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on women and minorities. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Select a group of four or five students to engage in a panel discussion on how changing social, economic, and political conditions require changing interpretations of the Constitution. They will need to plan their discussion and do some research on their topic. See the suggestions for conducting a panel discussion on page 16 in "Instructional Strategies" in this guide.

2. Invite speakers to discuss both sides of the same-sex marriage issue. Because this is a sensitive and controversial topic, make sure your school administration is aware of your plans. Review student questions ahead of time so there are no surprise questions for the speakers.

FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

Defense 65

Democracy and
Human Rights 69

International Trade 71

Weapons Proliferation...........................75

World Poverty and
Foreign Aid 79

East Asia 83

Europe 85

Latin America 89

The Middle East 93

Russia 97

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DEFENSE

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Define national security.
2. Compare and contrast views on national security issues.
3. Evaluate the current defense policies of the United States.
4. Draw conclusions about reading sections in *Current Issues*.
5. Analyze a chart.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- missile defense system
- multinational peacekeeping
- national security
- NATO
- NATO partnerships
- peace engagement
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
- War Powers Act

ACTIVITIES

1. Begin by asking students to pretend that they are responsible for the defense of a nation. Without giving them any more information, ask them what strategies they would use to defend their country. Categorize student responses and write them on the board. Likely categories include:

- build up arms—prepare for war
- use offensive tactics—"get them before they get us"
- negotiate treaties
- disarm—become neutral and nonthreatening
- develop defense fortifications

Point out that defending a nation is only one aspect of national security. Emphasize that national security is a complex concept with many facets.

Next, distribute **Student Handout 13—Defense Survey.** Allow students a few minutes to complete the questionnaire. When everyone is finished, encourage students to share their responses. This activity should get students to think about national security issues. The success of the activity depends very much on the debriefing. Try to bring out the following points and ask these questions.

- Military strength does not ensure success. (United States in Vietnam, Soviet Union in Afghanistan)
- The national security interests of oil-producing nations may be at odds with the interests of the United States.
- Should U.S. troops get involved in UN peacekeeping missions if U.S. national interest is not an issue? Should Americans care about peace in a place like Bosnia?
- If economic warfare is a greater threat to national security, how can the United States best combat this threat? Which country today poses the biggest economic threat to American security?
- Should some of the financial resources of the United States be shifted from the military budget to support democratic movements around the world? Should domestic programs be cut to provide increased funds for foreign aid?

Conclude by asking students to reevaluate their ideas about national security. Have any of them changed their strategies as a result of this activity? They should recognize that national security means protection of vital economic and political interests as well as defense of the nation's borders.

2. Divide the class into five groups. Assign one of the following topics to each group.

- increasing defense spending
- reducing the U.S. troop presence in western Europe, Japan, and South Korea
- using the U.S. military to police conflicts in troubled areas
- developing a missile defense system
- reducing the U.S. nuclear arsenal

Each group's task is to prepare brief (three- to five-minute) arguments both for and against each issue. Have them present these arguments to the class. Tell the class they will secretly vote on each issue at the end of each group's presentation. No class discussion will be allowed until all the ballots are in, because judgments and criticisms could affect student voting.

Students will vote with paper ballots. The votes will be tallied and listed on the board, so students can see how their class voted on the issues without peer pressure.

You may need to help the groups prepare their oral arguments to ensure a balance of views for each side. Once the votes are tallied, have students discuss the results on each issue. Do any of the results surprise them? Do they think results would be different if the voting had not been confidential? Why or why not?

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "Defense," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 31—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about U.S. defense policies. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on defense. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Students should take on the role of a presidential candidate. Have them prepare a campaign speech in which they address three defense-related issues.

- increasing the U.S. defense budget
- using U.S. troops in peacekeeping missions
- developing a missile defense system

Have students write rough drafts of their speeches and hand them in. Select the best three or four for oral presentation.

2. Have students interview at least five friends (preferably from outside class) to learn their opinions about serving in the military. They might ask for their friends' views on mandatory service, voluntary service, college scholarships, retirement benefits, women in combat, and homosexuals in the military. Ask your students to write a news article titled "Students Offer Opinions About the Military," based on what they found out in their interviews and in their readings in *Current Issues* and other sources. The goal is to incorporate fact and opinion in the article. The most thorough and well-written articles can be submitted to the school or community newspaper.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Define and discuss democracy.
2. Define human rights and how Americans gained those rights.
3. Examine the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and compare it with the U.S. Bill of Rights.
4. Learn which countries are free and which are not free by studying a map.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- decolonization
- democracy building
- democratization
- free elections
- free-market economy
- human rights
- national interest
- self-determination
- UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- war crimes

ACTIVITIES

1. Write "democracy" on the board. Then ask students to call out basic features common to democratic nations. List their responses on the board. (The list will probably include items such as free elections, majority rule, multiple political parties, government based on a constitution, and so forth.) After a complete list has been compiled, briefly discuss the features of democracy. Emphasize the difficulties even Americans have in making democracy work, despite more than 200 years of experience. Do students think Americans are apathetic about their democracy? Why or why not? Why are voter turnouts in U.S. elections so low? Do students think democracy is an efficient form of government, able to meet the needs of the people while providing the nation with peace and security? Ask them to speculate on the future of such new democracies as Russia, Haiti, and South Africa. What should the United States do to promote the success of new democracies around the world?

2. Begin by explaining to students that in the United States, concern for human rights is one of the foundations of the American democracy. Write the following quote from the Declaration of Independence on the board.

- We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are . . . endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Then, lead a discussion about the quote, asking students who wrote it and where it came from. What did Jefferson mean by "unalienable rights"? What rights do American have? Has the United States as a nation upheld Jefferson's rights?

Next, explain to the class that in December 1948, the newly established United Nations adopted its Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Distribute **Student Handout 14—United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.** After students have had time to read the declaration and complete the exercises and questions at the end of the handout, begin a discussion based on their responses. When discussing the declaration, point out that applying the ideals listed in the document is difficult.

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Democracy and Human Rights" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 32—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about democracy and human rights. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

1. Divide a bulletin board into five sections and place the name of each of the following countries above one of the sections: China, Haiti, Nigeria, Russia, Bosnia. Then, divide the class into five groups, with each group being responsible for one of the countries. Students should scan newspapers and news magazines each day looking for stories relating to democracy and human rights in their group's country. Then, after either clipping those stories or photocopying them, they should pin them in the appropriate column on the board. Spend a few minutes each day or week discussing the articles that are going up and why they are important. Discuss how certain stories may affect the United States and the people who live here.

2. Ask students to write a one-page reaction to the following quotation by Martin Luther King, Jr.

- Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

Ask for volunteers to read their papers in class.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Compare and contrast protectionism and free trade.
2. Evaluate U.S. policy options to reduce the trade deficit by balancing the federal budget, increasing trade barriers, and increasing productivity.
3. Analyze a chart and a cartoon.
4. Match numbers and times to information learned from reading the text.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- comparative advantage
- floating exchange rate
- free trade
- Free Trade Area of the Americas
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
- intellectual property
- managed trade
- most favored nation (MFN)
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
- protectionism
- quotas
- tariffs
- Trade Act of 1988
- trade deficit
- World Trade Organization (WTO)

ACTIVITIES

1. Use this activity to discuss costs and benefits of free trade and protectionism. Begin by pointing out to the class that: (1) the way in which a nation views tariffs may depend on how industrialized the nation already is; (2) some nations have used protective trade barriers to help them industrialize; and (3) a highly industrialized country may promote free trade knowing that undeveloped nations cannot compete.

Create two columns on the board under the heads "Free Trade" and "Protectionism." Then, in a class discussion, ask your students to determine the effects of these two policies for each of the following people (write responses on the board).

- a U.S. manufacturer dependent on export sales
- a U.S. manufacturer receiving stiff competition from imported goods
- consumers living in a highly industrialized nation
- an unemployed American worker
- the owner of a technologically new industry with limited financial resources

Conclude by pointing out that because of the economic diversity of the United States, neither a completely free-trade nor a protectionist policy will satisfy all sectors of the nation. When the complexities of international affairs are added, easy solutions are invariably inadequate.

2. Inform students that they have just been appointed to the president's Council of Economic Advisers. The president has warned them that the continuing high trade deficit threatens the economic well-being of the nation. Jobs are being lost, tax revenues are decreasing, and the economy is being threatened. Students should find the best solution to the trade deficit. The president has identified three possible routes for addressing the problem. He wants his "advisers" to investigate each of the three; however, he does not want them to act as an advocate for any particular one. Rather, they are to investigate the costs and benefits associated with implementing each approach, and report their findings to the president and the rest of the class.

Distribute **Student Handout 15—Fact-Finding Sheet.** Then, divide the class into three groups, each investigating one of the following approaches the federal government might take.

- balancing the federal budget, which would strengthen the U.S. dollar
- instituting protectionist measures to keep cheaper foreign goods out of the United States
- helping U.S. industries increase productivity by giving them money for research and development

Each group should divide in half, with one half looking for the strengths of the approach and the other half looking for its weaknesses. Remind students that the purpose is not to convince other group members that their position is the right one, but simply to gather as much information as possible to present to the group. Urge them to use the student handout to help them complete their tasks. After groups have completed their research, each should come up with specific policies based on their findings. Each group should then take its turn presenting its findings and recommendations to the entire class. They should recommend specific policies—for example, how the government will help industry increase its productivity—and evaluate the usefulness of each policy.

After the three groups have shared their findings with the class, lead a class discussion on the value of each of the approaches. Then, with a show of hands, poll the class on which approach they think will work best to reduce the trade deficit.

Conclude by reviewing the strengths and weaknesses of students' suggestions. What were the most important lessons of this unit? Why is international trade a difficult issue to resolve?

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "International Trade," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 33—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about international trade. Ask students to read their answers in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on international trade. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. The president is the individual most able to influence American trade policy. Have students choose one of the following activities.

- Abraham Lincoln supposedly said: "I don't know much about the tariff. But I do know that when I buy a coat from England, I have the coat and England has the money. But when I buy a coat in America, I have the coat and America has the money." Write a hypothetical letter to Lincoln explaining the virtues of free trade and the dangers of protectionism.
- Recent presidents have been strong supporters of free trade. Have students write a letter to the president stating why they think free trade is good or bad for American industry and if he should continue or change his present trade policy. Students may wish to send their letters to the president.

2. Students should identify local residents whose livelihood is affected by international trade, and invite several to speak to their class. This group could include a factory owner, a retailer, a banker, a factory worker, a farmer, and so forth. Ask students to prepare questions for the speakers in advance. You should make clear to speakers exactly what you want them to talk about; show them students' questions before they speak. Tell your speakers the topics that you have been discussing in class so they stay focused on issues with which students are familiar. Urge speakers to ask questions of students, getting them to think about all sides of a particular issue. If you have a speaker who strongly favors free trade, you should seek another speaker who believes in protectionism. Students should look for obvious differences of opinion between business owners and workers regarding protectionism or free trade.

3. U.S. relations with China have been strained in recent years by a number of issues, including: (1) the large U.S. trade deficit with China; (2) human rights practices in China; and, (3) accusations by American companies about Chinese manufacturers pirating U.S. intellectual property.

Ask students to gather newspaper and magazine articles regarding these issues. Discuss the articles as they come in and then pin them to a bulletin board. After you think your class has gained sufficient knowledge about the U.S.–China trade situation, organize a debate on the following statement.

- The United States should not extend MFN trade status to China until the Chinese government takes steps to address U.S. concerns about human rights and piracy of intellectual property.

See the section titled "Debate" on page 15 of the "Introduction" to this guide, to learn one way to proceed with your activity.

WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Analyze the dangers posed by the proliferation of weapons.
2. Evaluate U.S. policy toward sales of nuclear materials and technology.
3. Express an opinion based on factual and personal information.
4. Interpret a political cartoon and read a bar graph.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Baruch Plan
- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
- conventional weapons
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
- nuclear club
- nuclear nonproliferation
- nuclear technology
- UN Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

ACTIVITIES

1. Tell students that you are going to read several statements relating to nuclear proliferation and nuclear war. After each statement is read, students will move about the room on a continuum that ranges from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Students who strongly agree with the statement should line up on the far left side of the room. Students who strongly disagree should line up on the far right side of the room. Students who do not have a strong opinion either way should line up in the middle of the room.

After directions are given, read one of the opinion statements and allow time for students to move to a point on the continuum. When the three lines have stabilized, ask several students from each line to explain their positions. Allow students to interact and ask questions of each other, but remind them to respect differing opinions, and that this is a discussion, not a debate. After discussing each statement, read the fact statement that follows each opinion statement. Then ask students if they now want to move to another position on the continuum. Move on to the next statement and repeat the process.

Statements:

- Nuclear proliferation is a serious threat to world peace.

  Fact: Today at least five countries have nuclear weapons; ten other countries are suspected of having the capability of making nuclear weapons now or in the near future.

- It is possible for countries like the United States to sell nuclear technology to other countries without the threat of an increase in nuclear weapons worldwide.

  Fact: The United Nations created the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to ensure that members do not use nuclear technology to make weapons.

- Treaties are a good way to control the testing, manufacture, and acquisition of nuclear weapons.

  Fact: As many as eight international treaties have been written since 1959. No new nations have admitted developing nuclear weapons since 1964, and India is the only nation outside the "nuclear club" that has exploded an atomic device since then.

- The United States should set an example for the world by completely stopping sales of conventional weapons.

  Fact: Many nations besides the United States sell conventional weapons. Sellers depend a great deal on the profits such sales bring.

- Enemy nations who have nuclear weapons would hesitate to use them for fear of nuclear retaliation.

  Fact: The Soviet Union and the United States refrained from military conflict for more than forty years. During the Persian Gulf War, the allied powers and Iraq (which is suspected of having nuclear weapon capabilities) refrained from using nuclear weapons.

2. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Weapons Proliferation" chapter, have them complete **Student Handout 34—Learning New Information.** You may want them to complete it individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about weapons proliferation. Ask them to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on weapons proliferation. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Two regions of the world, Latin America and the South Pacific, as well as some individual cities around the world have established "nuclear-free zones." Within these zones, testing, manufacturing, and acquiring nuclear weapons are banned, and nations possessing nuclear weapons have agreed not to bring such weapons into the zones.

Ask students to call local governments to find out if their community or a nearby community is considered a nuclear-free zone. If so, obtain a copy of the statement(s) declaring the community as nuclear-free. If not, divide the class into groups of four or five to write a nuclear-free class statement for your school or community.

Ask groups to read their statements and discuss them. Do all students agree with such statements? What arguments can they give opposing the declaration of nuclear-free zones?

2. Organize one or more debates on the following statements.

- Current nuclear safeguards are adequate.
- The United States should limit its sales of conventional weapons.
- The United States should stop selling nuclear materials and technology.

Before beginning the debates, allow students adequate time to research their positions and prepare their arguments. The affirmative side should speak first, followed by the negative side. Both sides should be given the same amount of time. Allow each side to then present a short rebuttal. After each debate has been completed, ask the remainder of the class which side they think "won." Discuss the strong and weak points of each argument.

WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Identify characteristics of developing nations.
2. Explain the relationship between foreign aid and American interests.
3. Evaluate U.S. policy options regarding recipients of and kinds of foreign aid.
4. Analyze charts and photos.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- bilateral aid
- family planning
- humanitarian assistance
- less developed countries
- malnutrition
- multilateral aid
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
- North-South conflict
- national interest
- security assistance
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)
- World Food Summit

ACTIVITIES

1. Use a large world map to point out to students that most of the world's most impoverished nations are south of the Tropic of Cancer. Briefly discuss the terms "North" and "South." Ask why Americans and the U.S. government should have any interest in developing nations. In addition to exploring humanitarian concerns, discuss national security and economic security as factors in U.S. foreign aid politics. Students should consider how terrorism might become a more serious problem as developing countries struggle to develop. What could be the effect of increased terrorism on their development? Ask students to read "World Poverty and Foreign Aid" in *Current Issues* and jot down questions they would like to have answered while studying this unit. Have students share their questions with the class to determine common concerns.

2. Tell students that they are going to use a variety of resources to examine U.S. foreign aid policies and economic development in less developed countries and then write a position statement based on their research. First, divide the class in half. One half of the class will represent U.S. government and military officials. The other half will represent government officials from developing nations such as Bangladesh, Chad, Egypt, Haiti, and Peru. Divide each half into three subgroups and assign each subgroup one of the following policy statements.

- The United States should eliminate foreign aid.
- The United States should abolish the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).
- The United States should promote family planning in less developed countries to stop population growth.

Distribute and urge everyone to complete **Student Handout 16—Cost/Benefit Chart** as they complete their assignments. Give students sufficient time to research their topics and prepare position statements with supporting evidence. Each group should be prepared to state its position and answer questions from the class.

The group representing U.S. officials should consider the following questions as it analyzes its information and develops its policy statement.

- What are the costs and benefits of this policy?
- How will U.S. citizens view this policy?
- What conditions should the United States impose for nations receiving aid?
- Should foreign aid decisions be based on the national interest of the United States or of the whole world?
- After deciding the U.S. position, what are the strongest pieces of evidence to support it?

Representatives of developing countries should consider the following questions as they analyze their policy statement.

- Is it reasonable to expect that developed countries with their own poverty problems should expend their resources to help less developed countries?
- What arguments can developing nations offer to counter U.S. policy decisions that may not be in their best interest?
- How would developing nations respond to criticisms that some of the problems they face are a result of a social structure that allows a few people to control most of the wealth, and that aid programs simply help those who do not need it?
- Since it is unlikely that U.S. aid will be distributed evenly, what criteria do developing nations suggest for determining who receives it?

After each group has presented and supported its position and responded to questions, conduct a general class discussion. How do students personally feel about the issues? Is there any consensus? Have any changed their minds about foreign aid concerns since the introductory activity?

3. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "World Poverty and Foreign Aid," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 35—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about world poverty and U.S. foreign aid. Ask students to read their answers in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on world poverty and foreign aid. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students investigate conditions (geographic, economic, demographic, political, cultural) that have inhibited the development of the poorest of the world's nations. They should look at countries such as Bangladesh, Burundi, Ethiopia, Haiti, Nepal, and Sudan, and then prepare an essay pointing out the conditions and recommending what type of foreign aid programs they think would best help these nations. They should conclude by speculating on how likely it is that the nation they investigated will receive such aid.

2. Divide students into groups of four or five. This activity should be done in two parts, possibly over two days. The purpose is to encourage students to make some decisions about U.S. foreign aid.

Have students use a world map, *Current Issues,* newspapers, and newsmagazines to compile a list of nations that they think should receive foreign aid from the United States. Particular attention should be paid to countries in Africa, Latin America, Southern Asia, the Middle East, and eastern Europe including the former Soviet republics.

Once each group agrees on its list, ask students to place an "N" before those countries where foreign aid will be based on need, a "P" where it will be based on politics, or an "NP" if both apply.

Then tell groups that they have a total of 100 points to assign as U.S. foreign aid money. Have them decide how many points should be spent for each country on their list. They should use all 100 points. When groups have finished, bring the whole class together and have each group share its choices with the class. Write the names of all the nations selected on the board, tally, and average the points the groups spent on each country. In this way, arrive at a class ranking for foreign aid recommendations. Compare the students' list to actual U.S. foreign aid expenditures, which are detailed on the chart on page 238 in the standard edition of *Current Issues* and page 248 in the lower-reading-level edition.

EAST ASIA

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Discuss reasons for and possible solutions to the U.S.–Japan trade imbalance.
2. Evaluate the important role Japan plays in the U.S. economy.
3. Debate U.S. policies toward Japan, China, and Taiwan.
4. Express opinions about U.S.–China relations.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- human rights
- most favored nation (MFN) trade status
- "one China"
- Tiananmen Square
- trade deficit
- U.S.–Japan Mutual Security Treaty

ACTIVITIES

1. Write "United States" and "Japan" on the board. Turning first to the Japan column, ask students to call out brand names of Japanese products that Americans commonly buy. Write their responses on the board. They will probably have little trouble coming up with names like Toyota, Nissan, Honda, Sony, and others. Then, focusing on the United States column, ask them to call out brand names of American products they think are commonly sold in Japan. It will soon become evident that coming up with second list is more difficult. You might want to have everyone turn to the chart on page 249 in the standard edition of *Current Issues* and page 258 in the lower-reading-level edition, "U.S.–Japan Trade." Point out that while the United States did export $67.5 billion worth of goods and services to Japan in 1996, Japan mainly bought raw materials such as lumber, foodstuffs, and scrap metals. However, there are U.S. manufacturers, such as Boeing and Motorola, that successfully sell their products in Japan. Ask students what they think causes the trade imbalance between Japan and the United States. Are the Japanese being unfair? Is the trade imbalance a problem? Can the president or Congress do anything about reducing the trade deficit with Japan? Can the American people do anything about it?

2. Divide your class into three groups and tell them that each group is going to debate one of the following issues.

- The United States should withdraw its troops from Japan.
- The United States should recognize Taiwan.
- The United States should promote trade with China.

Each group should be divided into an affirmative team and a negative team. Debaters should use information in the "East Asia" chapter of *Current Issues* as well as outside sources to prepare their arguments.

When all research has been completed, begin the debates. The affirmative side should go first for five to ten minutes, followed by the negative side for five to ten minutes. Each side will then have a short period of time for rebuttal. If you find that too many students are not going to have a chance to speak, you may want several to serve as moderators, timekeepers, and judges.

After each debate, briefly discuss the topic with the whole class and ask students which side they thought was the winner.

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "East Asia" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 36—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about East Asia. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on East Asia. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students research what Asian companies are operating in your state. A list of foreign-owned firms can be obtained from the regional office of the U.S. Department of Commerce or your state's commerce or economic development office. The information gathered by students should include the cities in which these companies are located, the products they make, and the number of workers they employ. Ask the class to evaluate the economic effect of these businesses on the state or community.

2. Ask students to write a case study about a particular Japanese-owned company located in your community or state. The case study should include specifics regarding why the company decided to locate where it did. What problems did the community face when the company decided to locate there? How has the community benefited? How has the company benefited?

3. Write the names of the following Asian nations on the board: Japan, China, South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, and Thailand. Also list China's new province of Hong Kong. Then, ask students to study the list and write an answer to the following question.

- If you lived in East Asia, in which of these nations would you want to live? Why?

Ask for volunteers to read their answers aloud. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the countries they picked. Search for as many different responses as possible.

EUROPE

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Discuss obstacles to European unity and its potential for success.
2. Examine the pros and cons of keeping U.S. peacekeeping troops in Bosnia.
3. Explain U.S.-European relations, past and present.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- buffer zone
- ethnic cleansing
- the Euro
- European Economic Community (EC)
- European Union (EU)
- Maastricht Treaty
- Marshall Plan
- nationalism
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Operation Joint Venture

ACTIVITIES

1. After students have read "The European Economic Community," "European Unification," and "Western Europe and U.S. Economic Policies" beginning on page 266 in the standard edition and page 276 in the lower-reading-level version, spend a few minutes discussing the topic of European unity. Begin the discussion by asking the class to look at the map of Europe (on page 265 standard edition, 275 lower-reading-level). What potential problems with unifying Europe can students see simply by looking at the map? Point out that Europe has historically had an east-west split. Languages, religions, and customs in eastern Europe differ a great deal from those in western Europe. You might also mention that although the area is large—even if Russia is excluded—size and geography should not be an insurmountable problem. The United States, for example, is a vast region stretching thousands of miles from east to west and north to south.

Next, ask students what they see as the main obstacles to European unity. They should mention language problems, religious differences, vast differences in wealth and natural resources among nations, and so forth. Spend a few minutes talking about the Euro. Will a single currency work in Europe? As items are mentioned, write them on the board. When you are satisfied that all obstacles have been mentioned, ask them which single one will be hardest to overcome.

Then, ask the class members what issues could help make unity a success. They should mention the past history of military and economic cooperation, a desire to make unity happen, a desire to see Europe prosper, trade influence, and so forth. Write these items on the board as well. Then, find out which strength the class thinks will most help European unity. Finally, with a show of hands, ask students if they think there will ever be a "United States of Europe" or something similar.

2. Organize a role-playing activity in which participants will try to convince the president of the United States to either keep U.S. troops in Bosnia until peace is solidly in place or remove those troops as quickly as possible because keeping peace in Bosnia is not a vital U.S. interest. Students will play the following roles:

- **the president,** who will preside over the discussion, asking questions of both sides, and making the final decision
- **the secretary of state,** who favors keeping the troops there for as long as necessary because he or she believes doing so is in the national interest of the United States

- **a member of Congress,** who thinks U.S. troops should leave Bosnia as soon as possible and claims to have the support of a majority in Congress; the member does not belong to the same party as the president
- **the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,** who will go along with the president's decision, but worries about the safety of U.S. troops in Bosnia if they remain there for several years
- **the ambassador to the United States from Greece,** who believes U.S. troops are necessary to bring peace to the region; the ambassador, whose nation is a member of NATO, worries about religious and ethnic conflict spreading in Europe, perhaps to his or her country

After students have been assigned their roles, give them time to prepare their arguments. Each should be able to state his or her case in two minutes. The president should give each participant a chance to speak and ask questions of any of the participants. After the president has heard from each person, he or she should weigh the testimony, state the administration's plan, and tell why he or she reached that decision. Conduct as many sections of this activity as are necessary to involve all students.

3. For this activity, ask students to work in pairs. One person will represent the European perspective; the other, the American perspective. Give students twenty minutes to meet with their partners to discuss the following issues from both perspectives: (1) whether the United States should keep peacekeeping troops in Bosnia; (2) whether the United States should continue to defend Europe; and (3) whether NATO should be expanded.

Then, have all the "Europeans" get together in one part of the room and all the "Americans" in another. Both sides should select a secretary to record their "official" reaction to each policy issue. They should consider how each issue has affected them in the past, and how it will affect them in the future. What pleases or angers them about these policies?

Have the two secretaries present their side's reactions to each issue. Encourage other students to participate by questioning the secretary or by elaborating on what the secretary is saying. This activity should enable students to see the validity of different points of view, and how this can contribute to the complexity of an issue.

4. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in the "Europe" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 37—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about Europe. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on Europe. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Organize classroom debates on the following statements.

- Maintaining peacekeeping troops in Bosnia is in the U.S. national interest.
- The United States should continue to defend Europe.
- NATO should be expanded.

Before beginning the debates, allow students adequate time to research their positions and prepare their arguments. The affirmative side should go first, followed by the negative side. Both sides should be given the same amount of time. Allow each side to then present a short rebuttal. After each debate has been completed, ask the remainder of the class which side they think "won." Discuss the strong and weak points of each argument.

2. Ask students to research newspapers, magazines, and other sources for stories dealing with the situation in Northern Ireland. They should look for stories detailing the history of the conflict and recent attempts by various sides to end it. Urge students to look for stories about U.S. involvement in the conflict as well. After they have gathered their information, students should write a two-page synopsis about the issue and be prepared to read their reports in class. Conclude by discussing the problem and speculating on its outcome.

LATIN AMERICA

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Compare and contrast the United States and Latin America.
2. Identify ways in which cultural misunderstandings and intolerance can be resolved.
3. Debate current U.S. military, political, and economic policies in Latin America.
4. Identify Latin American leaders and define key vocabulary words.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- *contras*
- Cuban missile crisis
- drug cartels
- Free Trade Area of the Americas
- Helms-Burton Act
- narcoterrorism
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
- Reagan Doctrine
- Sandinistas

ACTIVITIES

1. Write the names of the following Latin American countries on one end of the board (Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, and Colombia) and "the United States" on the other end. Tell students they are going to brainstorm their impressions of each country. Begin with each Latin American country listed. Ask students to call out words or short phrases that come to mind when they think about each of these countries. List their responses. Now ask the students to compare these four Latin American countries with each other. Circle the similarities among them. Then, write down words or phrases that the students say come to mind when they think of the United States. After brainstorming for five to ten minutes, lead a discussion comparing the countries of Latin America with the United States. What similarities are there? Differences? Do the Latin American countries appear to be quite different from the United States? Point out inaccurate student responses in the lists and discuss why they were mentioned. Conclude by discussing why it is important for these two regions to cooperate politically and economically.

2. Mexico and the United States share a 2,000-mile border, yet there is a great deal of misunderstanding on both sides. Alan Riding, author of *Distant Neighbors: A Portrait of the Mexicans,* has written that "probably nowhere in the world do two neighbors understand each other so little." Mexican Americans often find themselves torn, as though they have one foot in one culture and one in the other.

Distribute **Student Handout 17—A Plea for More Understanding.** Allow students time to read the essay. Then, discuss the following key issues raised by the author.

- Americans tend to stereotype Mexicans.
- Americans know little about Mexican culture.
- There are many aspects of Mexican culture that Americans might emulate.

This activity presents a good opportunity for minority students to air their opinions. Do any of them feel like the author of the article? What other difficulties do minorities have that were not mentioned?

Broaden the discussion by asking whether the three key issues raised by the author are true. Do Mexicans and Americans tend to stereotype each other? Do Mexicans and Americans know little about each other's culture? Are there any aspects of American culture that Mexicans might emulate, or vice versa? Conclude by having each student write a paragraph that begins: "The best way to resolve differences between Mexican Americans and other Americans is . . ."

3. Organize classroom debates around questions of U.S. relations in Latin America. Topics are:

- The United States should lift the economic embargo against Cuba.
- A U.S.–Latin American free-trade zone should be established.
- The United States should use military means to combat the Latin American drug trade.

Depending on available time, you will have to decide how many debates to hold. If time does not allow all students to participate in a debate, you might want to assign them to be judges, timekeepers, or moderators.

Alternate pro and con speakers, give each speaker a set length of time, and allow rebuttal arguments after all speakers have presented their arguments. When each debate is finished, ask the assigned judges and/or the class to choose which side they thought was most convincing and tell why.

4. To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about information in the "Latin America" chapter, ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 38—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion on Latin America. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITY

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on Latin America. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students speculate about the future of U.S.–Latin American relations. Ask them to write an essay on what they think relations will be like in 2050. Will the relationship improve or deteriorate? Will free trade expand to the entire Western Hemisphere, or will countries become more protectionist and nationalistic? Have students read their essays in class. Is the class optimistic or pessimistic about the future of U.S.–Latin American relations?

2. Two countries in the Caribbean are possessions of the United States: Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Ask interested students to research the history and government of these two countries and the details of their relationship with the United States. They may then write a short report on their findings or deliver an oral presentation in front of the class.

As an extension of this activity, you might want to organize a debate about statehood or independence for Puerto Rico. This may be an especially interesting activity if you have Puerto Rican students in your class or school. See the details for organizing a debate in "Instructional Strategies" on page 15 of this teacher's guide.

THE MIDDLE EAST

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Compare and contrast proposals for peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
2. Discuss U.S. foreign policy toward Iran based on historical research.
3. Analyze maps and a cartoon.
4. Interpret a timeline.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Camp David Accords
- Gaza Strip
- Golan Heights
- Holocaust
- *intifada*
- Palestinian Authority
- Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)
- Palestine Mandate
- Persian Gulf War
- UN Resolutions 242 and 338
- West Bank
- Zionism

ACTIVITIES

1. Tell the class that they are a group of Middle East experts employed by the U.S. Department of State. The administration has decided that the United States must keep pressure on all sides to bring peace to the region. Divide students into groups of seven with each person in the group representing one of the following interested parties: Egypt, Israel, Jordan, the PLO, Palestinians who reject PLO leadership, Syria, and the United States.

Students should use *Current Issues* and other sources to first complete **Student Handout 18—Middle East Peace Proposals.** To represent accurately the views of the various nations and interest groups, students will need time and access to a range of resources on the topic. After students have gathered sufficient information to represent their nation or interest group adequately, each group should meet to come up with a peace plan that it thinks is fair to all parties and has some hope of being accepted by the major players. Because it is unlikely that everyone will agree, the students will need to compromise and try to reduce the opposition. As part of its peace plan, each group must make recommendations for or against the following.

- The United States should support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.
- The United States should pressure Israel to return the Golan Heights to Syria.

The UN resolutions might be a good starting point for group meetings. A careful analysis of each group's response to those resolutions may serve to lay the foundation for their peace plan. Because of the constantly changing positions of the interested parties, it is critical that students examine not only background information, but current resources as well. Suggest available resources and ask students where they think they might find them. When each group has what it believes is an acceptable plan for bringing peace to the region, it should present its plan to the rest of the class.

Conclude by discussing the problems and proposals of each group. Discuss the problems for U.S. policymakers presented by the situation in the Middle East.

2. Tell students that they are going to conduct historical research about Iran and U.S.–Iranian relations, and then develop a recommendation to the Clinton administration. Divide students into groups of four. Each group should divide research tasks as it develops its policy recommendation. Each student in the group should find information and prepare a briefing sheet for other group members about one of the following topics:

- the modernization of Iran under Shah Reza Pahlavi
- the overthrow of the shah and establishment of fundamentalist government under the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini
- the seizure of American hostages in the U.S. embassy in Iran
- Iranian actions since the release of the U.S. hostages

Students can use available information from "The Middle East" in *Current Issues*, as well as from outside sources. Emphasize that their research does not have to be extensive, but that it should be sufficient to allow them to make an informed policy recommendation to the president.

After group members have completed their research and prepared their briefing sheets, groups should get together to draw up their recommendations. They may decide to lift the economic embargo and normalize relations with Iran, to pull away even further from the present Iranian government, to ask for a meeting with Iran's leaders to negotiate an agreement, to keep the status quo, or some combination of these actions. After groups have finished, ask one member from each group to present his or her group's recommendation to the class. Urge class members to ask questions of the presenter, to find out how and why his or her group arrived at its recommendation.

★ **3.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "The Middle East," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 39—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about the Middle East. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on the Middle East. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Have students cite specific examples of how each of the following factors has contributed to a lack of peace in the Middle East.

- religion
- national identity
- revenge
- paranoia
- interference from outside nations
- racism
- oil resources
- terrorism

Ask students to select two of their examples and hypothesize ways that peace might be achieved if those factors could either be limited or used to an advantage. Does it seem realistic that peace will be achieved in the Middle East?

2. Many of the problems of the Middle East, as well as its rich culture, are derived from its diversity. Have interested students make a wall chart of Middle Eastern countries and the ethnic groups that live in them. The chart should include information on religion, language, form of government, resources, per capita income, life span, and birth rates of nationality and ethnic groups. When the chart is complete, ask students how the information they have gathered helps to explain the continuing conflict in the region.

RUSSIA

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Describe U.S.–Soviet and U.S.–Russian relations since 1945 and the effect of ideology on those relations.
2. Discuss the relationship of location and geography to the history of U.S.–Soviet and U.S.–Russian relations.
3. Match names and accomplishments of prominent leaders.
4. Analyze maps, cartoons, and photos.

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Chechnya
- Cold War
- Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
- containment
- détente
- domino theory
- economic "shock therapy"
- Helsinki Accords
- NATO
- privatization
- SALT I and II
- START I and II
- Warsaw Pact

ACTIVITIES

1. To introduce this unit, ask students in a brainstorming session to call out words or short phrases they think describe today's Russia. Write their responses on the board. Then, do the same exercise asking students to come up with words or phrases describing the old Soviet Union. Write these responses on the board as well.

Next, ask the class to indicate with a show of hands whether they think each word or phrase in the first list has a negative, positive, or neutral connotation. After you tally the votes, mark each word with a plus sign for positive, a minus sign for negative, or a zero for neutral. Total the pluses and minuses and compare them. Do the same with the second list. How do the responses on the two lists compare? What are the implications of the differences in the two lists? Where did students get their images of Russia and the other republics? Where did they get their images of the old Soviet Union?

2. Display a large wall map of the world and compare the locations of the United States and Russia. Discuss locations in relation to latitude and longitude and bordering nations. Then, ask the class what effects location may have had on the history of the two countries and their past relationship with each other. Which nation probably has had the greatest concerns about security? Why? Briefly summarize Russian and Soviet history, emphasizing their vulnerability from both east and west and war losses in this century. Ask students how the location and history of the old Soviet Union might have influenced its leaders. Emphasize the sheer size of Russia compared to the United States. Compare the neighboring countries of the United States and Russia. Discuss the potential hostilities that may occur or have already occurred within Russia and among several of the former Soviet republics. Also point out probable differences in climate and access to oceans and seas.

3. Have students read "Background" in "Russia" and complete the timeline exercise on **Student Handout 19—Events in U.S.–Soviet and U.S.–Russian History.** They should also rate each time period according to degrees of positive relationship or negative relationship between the two countries.

When students have had sufficient time to complete the handout, discuss the events they selected. Point out any important omissions. Then, total the scores for their ratings, write them on the board, and talk about them. Urge students to explain their ratings. If there are major discrepancies among ratings, find out why. Discuss which incidents were most significant and why, and what effect those incidents had on U.S.–Soviet and U.S.–Russian relations.

After the important events have been identified, pair up students and have each pair select one event. One student in each pair should then write a newspaper article for an American newspaper presenting the U.S. position on the event at the time it happened. The other student should write an article for a Russian newspaper presenting the Soviet or Russian position. Then, ask the pairs to alternate reading their articles in class. Compare each pair of stories. How are they similar? How are they different? What do these similarities and differences suggest about how perspective can influence interpretations of facts? What implications do such interpretations have for international relations?

★ **4.** To help your students read, comprehend, and think critically about the information in "Russia," ask them to complete the activities on **Student Handout 40—Learning New Information.** You may want them to work on the handout individually in class or as a homework assignment or to complete the handout working in small groups.

After students have finished the handout, use the information to lead a discussion about Russia. Ask students to read their answers aloud in class and urge them to expand on the information they have gleaned from the reading.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Use the following activities to enrich your unit on Russia. You may find the activities valuable for evaluation, extra credit, or as an additional assignment for the unit.

1. Over an extended period of time (perhaps a quarter or semester), have students collect newspaper and magazine articles about events in Russia and its relationship with the United States. Students should pick specific topics to investigate, such as U.S. aid to Russia, ethnic unrest, the successes and failures of political and economic reforms in the new governments, the 1996 elections, the health of Boris Yeltsin, and so forth. Pin the articles to a bulletin board under appropriate headings and urge the class to review them every day. Near the end of the collection period, discuss the progression of the news stories and editorials. Have they changed in any way? How have they changed? Is reform moving ahead or falling flat?

2. Have students speculate about the future of U.S. relations with Russia by writing a report on what they think those relations will be like in 2000, 2025, and 2050. They should write one paragraph about each year. After the reports are complete, ask students to read them aloud in class. Discuss the reports and ask the writers how they arrived at their conclusions and opinions. Do they see relations generally improving or deteriorating? What future do they see for Boris Yeltsin? For the Commonwealth of Independent States? Do they think economic and democratic reforms will continue to proceed in Russia? Will improved relations between the world's major nuclear powers lead to nuclear disarmament?

UNIT TEST MATERIALS

433

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UNIT TEST

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The Department of Veterans Affairs is the newest Cabinet department.

____ 2. The 105th Congress is controlled by the Democratic Party.

____ 3. Democrats and Republicans generally agree on which federal programs should be expanded and which should be cut.

____ 4. One of the conflicts between the legislative and executive branches in recent years has been over how to balance the federal budget.

____ 5. Congress and President Clinton finally passed an FY96 budget after the government was forced to close down twice in 1995 and 1996.

____ 6. Leaders in both parties have had to answer charges of irregularities in campaign fundraising in recent years.

____ 7. Supreme Court justices are appointed by the president with the approval of the Senate and serve for life.

____ 8. President Reagan had a great effect on the present Supreme Court, having appointed three associate justices and the chief justice.

____ 9. A recent Supreme Court decision forced North Carolina and Texas to redraw congressional districts without considering their racial makeup.

____ 10. The legislative gridlock between the president and the 104th Congress was brought about chiefly by disagreements over health care.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Cabinet

12. divided government

13. political action committee (PAC)

14. chief justice

15. legislative gridlock

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Identify three members of the president's Cabinet and briefly describe those members' responsibilities.

17. Describe why it has been difficult for Congress to pass term limits and campaign reform legislation.

18. Explain the duties of the Supreme Court and why it is so important to the lives of the American people.

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THE BUDGET DEFICIT

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. A budget deficit occurs when spending exceeds revenue.

____ 2. A budget deficit can be lowered by either raising spending or lowering taxes, or a combination of both.

____ 3. The last budget surplus enjoyed by the federal government was in 1969, when Richard Nixon was beginning his first term as president.

____ 4. The national debt is now more than $5 trillion.

____ 5. The budget deficit in fiscal year 1996 was the highest in history.

____ 6. Defense spending is the highest of the four main budget categories.

____ 7. The federal government shut down for two different periods of time in late 1995.

____ 8. An amendment to balance the budget was passed by Congress in 1995 and will be added to the Constitution as soon as the required number of states approve it.

____ 9. Under Social Security, today's employees are paying the retirement benefits for today's retirees.

____ 10. Interest on the national debt has remained about the same throughout the 1990s.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. mandatory spending

12. national debt

13. discretionary spending

14. joint budget resolution

15. Social Security privatization

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. A balanced budget amendment should be added to the Constitution.

    b. Congress should raise taxes to reduce the deficit.

    c. Social Security should be privatized.

17. Explain why most experts think that Social Security will dry up by the early twenty-first century if reforms are not made.

18. Explain why the federal government shut down in 1995 and what the president and Congress did to get it open again.

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UNIT TEST

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The Bill of Rights was part of the original Constitution.

____ 2. It is the responsibility of the U.S. Supreme Court to interpret if and how the Bill of Rights and the Constitution apply to certain situations.

____ 3. Two states challenged the Handgun Control Act as unconstitutional, saying it violated the rights guaranteed by the Ninth Amendment.

____ 4. One of the most significant features of the Fourteenth Amendment is that it extends the Bill of Rights to cover state and local governments as well as the national government.

____ 5. The courts have ruled that a citizen's right to free expression is unlimited.

____ 6. The Second Amendment allows Americans to own any type of firearm.

____ 7. The Communications Decency Act outlaws the transmission of sexually explicit materials to minors over the Internet.

____ 8. In *Roe v. Wade,* the Supreme Court ruled that a woman has a constitutional right to an abortion.

____ 9. In 1962, the Supreme Court prohibited state-sponsored school prayer in public schools on the grounds that it infringed on the separation of church and state.

____ 10. Doctor-assisted suicide is now legal in more than forty states.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. exclusionary rule

12. federalism

13. *Miranda* ruling

14. euthanasia

15. unenumerated rights

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. Abortions should remain legal.

    b. A moment of silence should be permitted in public schools.

    c. Euthanasia should be allowed.

17. List and briefly describe three amendments that protect persons accused of a crime.

18. Discuss the relationship of the Bill of Rights to the concept of democratic rule of the majority and give examples of tension between majority rule and minority rights.

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CRIME AND DRUGS

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. In 1995, the violent crime rate in the United States was 4 percent lower than in 1994.

____ 2. According to opinion polls, crime is one of the nation's top concerns.

____ 3. Violent crime is concentrated primarily in the suburbs surrounding large cities.

____ 4. The downing of a TWA airplane over Long Island, New York, in 1996 caused the highest loss of life of any act of domestic terrorism in U.S. history.

____ 5. Although the Brady bill has passed the Senate several times, it has not been passed by the House of Representatives.

____ 6. Most recent congressional crime bills have emphasized punishment over prevention.

____ 7. Most federal drug programs spend more money fighting the demand for drugs rather than the supply.

____ 8. Drug trafficking generates an estimated one-fourth of all murders in the United States.

____ 9. Nearly 14 million crimes are committed annually in the United States.

____ 10. Americans own more than 200 million firearms.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Brady bill

12. mandatory sentencing

13. "three strikes and you're out"

14. Second Amendment

15. Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The government should enact stricter gun control laws.

    b. The government should change mandatory sentencing laws.

    c. The federal war on drugs should stress prevention over enforcement.

17. Explain why most experts believe there is a direct relationship between poverty and crime.

18. Imagine you are a member of Congress writing a bill to fight the rising drug use by teens. List and briefly explain three items you would include in your bill.

441

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UNIT TEST

THE ECONOMY

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. President Reagan's economic plan included decreasing the amount of taxes paid by Americans.

____ 2. Many American firms have moved their factories to other countries to take advantage of lower foreign labor costs.

____ 3. Although the economy grew substantially during most of the 1980s, the national debt soared.

____ 4. The Roosevelt administration fought the Great Depression of the 1930s by lowering taxes and interest rates.

____ 5. During recessions, the Fed often raises interest rates to lower inflation.

____ 6. During periods of high inflation, people are more inclined to save money.

____ 7. The U.S. economy was in recession during much of President Clinton's first term.

____ 8. The United States has one of the highest productivity rates in the world.

____ 9. By the end of 1996, the inflation rate remained high while the unemployment rate had dropped.

____ 10. Under a flat tax plan, wealthier people would pay a higher percentage of their income in taxes than low-income people.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. inflation

12. recession

13. supply-side economics

14. productivity

15. international interdependence

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The government should do more to close the income gap.

    b. The government should abandon the current tax system.

    c. The government should do more to retrain displaced workers.

17. Who is most likely to be hurt most by inflation? Select one and defend your choice.

    a. a retired couple living on their savings and Social Security

    b. a young couple who just bought a house

    c. a middle-aged couple who own several apartments

    d. a recent college graduate starting to pay off a college loan

443

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EDUCATION

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Local property tax–based funding for education often results in equal educational opportunities between low-income and wealthy districts.

____ 2. The federal government was not significantly involved in education until the 1950s and 1960s.

____ 3. Early efforts to integrate schools often depended on court-ordered busing.

____ 4. Early immigrants resisted having their children learn English.

____ 5. The greatest share of funding for public schools comes from the national level of government.

____ 6. Some people believe U.S. schools are becoming resegregated because many white Americans are moving to the suburbs.

____ 7. Project Head Start was one of President Johnson's Great Society programs.

____ 8. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregated schools were unconstitutional.

____ 9. The study of Western culture includes a focus on contributions made by Asians, African Americans, and Native Americans.

____ 10. Supporters of vouchers think that they would give parents a greater choice of where their children go to school.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. busing

12. school desegregation

13. multicultural education

14. magnet schools

15. school choice

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.
    a. The federal government should be more involved in public schools.
    b. Parents should be allowed to choose their children's public schools.
    c. Colleges should adopt multicultural curricula.

17. Explain the purpose of Head Start schools.

18. Explain why most communities support decentralized schools.

19. Identify three changes that you think would improve the quality of education in your school and explain how each would improve education.

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ENVIRONMENT

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The greenhouse effect could melt polar ice caps and raise the level of oceans enough to flood many coastal U.S. cities.

____ 2. Changes in the average temperatures of a few degrees have little effect on Earth's weather.

____ 3. Acid rain is primarily a U.S. problem.

____ 4. Although the United States does not yet have a permanent underground repository for nuclear waste, the fifty states do have enough landfill sites for toxic and solid wastes.

____ 5. Nuclear waste can be dangerous for thousands of years.

____ 6. Toxic waste sometimes gets into drinking water.

____ 7. Most toxic waste sites have been identified and are being cleaned up.

____ 8. Incinerators that burn off solid waste and convert it into energy are almost pollution-free.

____ 9. The cost of pollution control is high, but so is the cost of allowing pollution to continue.

____ 10. Ranchers pay grazing fees to the government so they can allow their cattle to eat the grass on public land.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Earth Summit

12. ozone layer

13. greenhouse effect

14. Superfund

15. acid rain

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following.
    a. The government should further restrict the use of public lands.

    b. Environmental regulation should be tightened.

    c. Polluters should pay the cost of toxic waste cleanup.

17. Describe one major problem associated with the 1980 Superfund legislation.

18. "Many issues are not national but international." Support this statement by describing the international nature of one type of pollution.

447

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HEALTH CARE

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Americans spend more on health care than do people in any other country.

____ 2. Some experts say Americans will spend nearly $1.5 trillion on health care by 2000.

____ 3. Medicaid is a joint federal-state program to help older Americans pay for health care.

____ 4. About 37 million Americans have no health insurance.

____ 5. Even people who are covered by private insurance sometimes go without medical treatment because they cannot afford to pay the deductible.

____ 6. Since the early 1980s, more than 1 million Americans have died from AIDS.

____ 7. Government-financed health care was a key part of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program.

____ 8. During the 1980s, health care costs increased at a rate near or below the rate of inflation.

____ 9. Medicare pays all the medical expenses of older Americans.

____ 10. The development of new medical technologies is reducing the cost of medical care.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. medical malpractice

12. human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)

13. managed care

14. deductible

15. universal coverage

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. List and describe three reasons why health care costs are rapidly rising.

17. How do Medicare and Medicaid differ?

18. Write a one-page essay either agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: "Older Americans should pay more for Medicare."

19. Write a one-page essay either agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: "The United States should provide universal health care coverage."

449

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IMMIGRATION

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. California voters turned down Proposition 187, which would have denied some state services to illegal immigrants.

____ 2. The Japanese Exclusion Act marked the first time that the United States closed its doors to any group.

____ 3. Most illegal immigrants to the United States come from Latin America.

____ 4. Quotas have generally favored immigrants from cultures already heavily represented in the United States.

____ 5. The strength of the U.S. economy has been a major force in attracting immigrants to the United States.

____ 6. The Refugee Act of 1980 allows someone fleeing economic hardship to be admitted to the United States.

____ 7. One argument against illegal aliens is that they take jobs away from qualified U.S. citizens.

____ 8. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act granted some illegal aliens amnesty and allowed them to become citizens.

____ 9. The 1996 Immigration Act doubles the size of the Border Patrol force.

____ 10. The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 was designed to restrict the flow of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. quota

12. official language

13. amnesty

14. refugee

15. assimilation

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. Illegal immigration is hurting the U.S. economy.

    b. The government should adopt English as its official language.

    c. The government should deny social services to illegal immigrants.

17. Restrictive legislation has often been motivated by prejudice. Describe one such example.

451

18. Why did many native-born Americans favor immigration quotas in 1900?

19. Present one argument in support of and one argument against the premise that immigrants take jobs away from U.S. citizens.

452

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POVERTY

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. In recent years, government spending for social programs has been cut.

____ 2. President Roosevelt's New Deal stressed jobs and social insurance rather than direct relief.

____ 3. Medicare and Medicaid were parts of the New Deal.

____ 4. Single mothers and their children make up about one-third of the nation's poor.

____ 5. In 1996, Congress passed a welfare reform bill that gives grants to states for them to spend on their own welfare programs.

____ 6. Medicare provides lower-income individuals with free or subsidized medical care.

____ 7. An unemployed person benefits greatly from the earned-income tax credit.

____ 8. The federal AFDC program has been eliminated.

____ 9. In 1995, almost 14 percent of the U.S. population lived in poverty.

____ 10. Many people objected to the 1996 welfare reform law because it did away with the federal guarantee of financial assistance to every needy family.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. empowerment zones

12. Great Society

13. Medicaid

14. earned-income tax credit

15. food stamps

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The states will do a better job than the federal government controlling welfare.

    b. The federal government should reduce financial assistance to the working poor.

    c. The government should provide funds to expand empowerment zones in areas where unemployment and poverty are high.

17. What were the arguments used by members of Congress and others who wanted to eliminate AFDC?

18. What effect might benefit reductions have on children who are supported by a welfare recipient?

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WOMEN AND MINORITIES

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. "Jim Crow" laws were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court as early as 1896.

____ 2. The U.S. armed forces have been integrated since the Civil War.

____ 3. The Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* that maintaining separate schools for black and white students is unconstitutional.

____ 4. The poll tax was not barred until passage of the Twenty-fourth Amendment.

____ 5. Discrimination in programs receiving federal aid was declared unconstitutional in 1964.

____ 6. Federal law extends civil rights protections to people based on sexual orientation.

____ 7. Women earned the right to vote when the Fifteenth Amendment was passed shortly after the Civil War.

____ 8. Federal law requires that men and women be paid equally for equal work.

____ 9. In 1982, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) guaranteeing equal rights for women was added to the Constitution.

____ 10. The Defense of Marriage Act upholds same-sex unions such as those approved in Hawaii.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Proposition 209

12. affirmative action

13. suffragists

14. Civil Rights Act of 1964

15. "Jim Crow" laws

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following.

    a. Affirmative action should be abolished.

    b. Schools should encourage single-sex education.

    c. Same-sex marriages should be allowed.

17. Write an essay agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: "The history of the United States has been one of gradual expansion of both the meaning of civil rights and the groups to which they are extended."

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DEFENSE

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. During the 1980s, the U.S. government cut defense spending because President Reagan believed the Soviet Union was no longer a threat.

____ 2. After World War II, U.S. military forces trained to fight one potential enemy—the Soviet Union.

____ 3. At present, the United States has about 1.4 million men and women in the armed forces.

____ 4. Russia and other former communist nations are now members of NATO.

____ 5. The United States now has about 300,000 troops in Europe.

____ 6. The War Powers Act was passed by Congress in response to the invasion of Grenada by President Ronald Reagan.

____ 7. Only Congress can declare war.

____ 8. The United States is committed by treaty to defending allies around the world.

____ 9. During the Cold War years of the 1950s and 1960s, the United States often used military force to support pro-American governments threatened by communist forces.

____ 10. U.S. troops were sent to Bosnia in 1995 to keep a friendly government in power there.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. missile defense system

12. NATO

13. national security

14. peace engagement

15. War Powers Act

457

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following.

   a. The U.S. defense budget should be increased.

   b. The U.S. military should be used as a peacekeeper in troubled areas.

   c. The United States should develop a missile defense system.

17. Many critics have argued that military spending is a poor allocation of scarce national resources that could be better invested in other programs. Others say it is money well spent because it ensures national security and helps the economy. Write a paragraph stating your opinion, but support your argument with facts.

18. "The War Powers Act is an unconstitutional infringement on the power of the presidency." Write a paragraph stating your opinion about this statement. Support your argument with facts.

19. Discuss ways in which the United States helps defend its allies around the world.

20. Some experts claim the role of the U.S. military is changing. What arguments do they use to support their claim?

459

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UNIT TEST

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The United States was the first democracy to be established in the modern world.

____ 2. A great deal of decolonization took place after World War II because maintaining and administering colonies was expensive for the colonial powers.

____ 3. There are about twenty-five more democracies in the world today than there were in the 1970s.

____ 4. U.S. foreign policy has generally focused on promoting democracy around the world.

____ 5. President Bush sent U.S. troops to Grenada to remove the undemocratic dictator Manuel Noriega from power.

____ 6. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was passed by the U.S. Congress after World War II to urge governments around the world to grant human rights to their citizens.

____ 7. Human rights have become much more important as a foreign policy issue because of global communications and increased international trade.

____ 8. China and the United States have agreed that the United States will no longer link trade and human rights in its relations with China.

____ 9. United Nations and U.S. troops helped restore elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power in Haiti in 1994.

____ 10. Many of the countries of Latin America still do not have democratically elected governments.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. decolonization

12. self-determination

13. war crimes

14. national interest

15. democracy building

16. Write a paragraph agreeing or disagreeing with each of the following.

   a. U.S. foreign policy should be focused on protecting human rights.

   b. The U.S. military should be used to pursue and arrest alleged war criminals.

   c. American troops should not be used to promote democracy in other nations.

17. List and explain at least two historic events that have led to today's unprecedented number of democracies around the world.

18. Name and briefly discuss three occasions on which U.S. troops were sent to foreign countries to build democracy.

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UNIT TEST

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Tariffs discourage the purchase of domestic products.

____ 2. The floating exchange system for currency was developed at Bretton Woods in 1944.

____ 3. Experts believe NAFTA will help reduce the U.S. trade deficit with Japan.

____ 4. The trade wars of the 1930s deepened the effects of the Great Depression.

____ 5. The trade deficit is blamed for the loss of thousands of U.S. jobs to foreign workers every year.

____ 6. The United States enjoys a trade surplus with China but has a trade deficit with Japan.

____ 7. A country's climate may give it a comparative advantage.

____ 8. Protectionism may result in a trade war.

____ 9. GATT is an international organization established to set a code of conduct for nations that trade.

____ 10. The Trade Act of 1988 requires the president to increase trade with countries that limit U.S. trade.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. free trade

12. World Trade Organization

13. protectionism

14. quotas

15. trade deficit

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Identify two trade barriers and explain how they would restrict trade.

17. What kinds of jobs are most likely to be lost by Americans to foreign countries under free-trade agreements such as NAFTA and GATT? Explain your answer.

18. Explain how the institution of trade barriers could hurt the U.S. export market.

463

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WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The world's largest arms dealers are the oil-rich nations of the Middle East and Asia.

____ 2. The United States and other nuclear powers have agreed to transfer nuclear technology for electricity production and medical research.

____ 3. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has the power to inspect nuclear facilities and enforce UN nonproliferation treaties.

____ 4. World leaders are worried that nuclear materials from the former Soviet Union could fall into the hands of terrorists or unfriendly governments.

____ 5. While many countries have signed pledges not to acquire nuclear weapons, others have refused to make such promises.

____ 6. Nuclear reactors can be used to develop weapons.

____ 7. Many experts believe that the spread of nuclear weapons has increased over the past twenty-five years.

____ 8. In 1996, more than fifty UN members signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

____ 9. Many countries developing nuclear weapons have been engaged in conflicts with their neighbors.

____ 10. The development and manufacture of sophisticated military hardware accounts for hundreds of thousands of jobs in the United States.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. nuclear technology

12. nuclear proliferation

13. nuclear nonproliferation

14. conventional weapons

15. nuclear club

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. Current safeguards are adequate to control the spread of nuclear weapons.

    b. The United States should limit its sales of conventional weapons.

    c. The United States should stop selling nuclear materials and technology.

17. What is the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency?

18. Choose one treaty or agreement you have read about. Which nations were involved? What were the terms of the treaty? Was the agreement successful? Why or why not?

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UNIT TEST

WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. More than 1 billion people now live in poverty, many suffering from hunger and disease.

____ 2. Because of improved farming methods, Africa should soon recover from the severe food shortages it has recently experienced.

____ 3. Experts at the 1996 World Food Summit said that the world's population will double in the next 100 years.

____ 4. One reason that the United States provides foreign aid is to open up future markets for American products.

____ 5. Sales of American military equipment to friendly nations have increased as a result of U.S. aid to those nations.

____ 6. The United States commits about 10 percent of its annual budget to foreign aid.

____ 7. Most U.S. aid goes to areas in Africa that are experiencing famine.

____ 8. The highest population growth rates tend to be in the least developed nations.

____ 9. Most of the world's most impoverished countries are in the Northern Hemisphere.

____ 10. Starvation plagues more people today than it did thirty years ago.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. malnutrition

12. multilateral aid

13. bilateral aid

14. U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

15. national interest

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The United States should continue to give foreign aid because it is in the U.S. national interest.

    b. The United States should abolish the U.S. Agency for International Development.

    c. The United States should promote family planning to slow population growth.

17. Identify three reasons why the United States has historically given foreign aid.

18. Explain the difference between humanitarian assistance and security assistance.

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EAST ASIA

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Japan rebuilt its postwar industries with the help of American aid.

____ 2. The U.S. trade deficit with Japan has increased since the early 1980s.

____ 3. The United States and Japan agreed to a security arrangement in 1952.

____ 4. Trade is essential to the economy of Japan.

____ 5. In recent years, Japan has had the fastest-growing economy in East Asia.

____ 6. U.S.–China relations faltered when the United States accused some Chinese factories of illegally producing copies of U.S. products.

____ 7. Japanese-owned factories in the United States provide thousands of jobs for American workers.

____ 8. China has abandoned its communist government in favor of capitalism.

____ 9. In 1997, Taiwan officially became part of the People's Republic of China.

____ 10. In recent years, North Korea's economy has deteriorated.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. trade deficit

12. "one China"

13. MFN trade status

14. Mutual Security Treaty

15. Tiananmen Square

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. From the perspective of a leading consumer advocate, write a letter to your member of Congress about U.S.–Japanese trade policies.

17. From the perspective of an unemployed autoworker, write a letter to your member of Congress about U.S–Japanese trade policies.

18. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The United States should withdraw its troops from Japan.

    b. The United States should promote trade with China.

    c. The United States should recognize Taiwan.

469

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EUROPE

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. One goal of Soviet foreign policy after World War II was to establish a buffer zone between the Soviet Union and Germany.

____ 2. Members of the EC signed the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, and European unity became a reality in 1993.

____ 3. Until 1990, Germany was divided into two separate countries, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

____ 4. NATO was originally formed to fight Nazi Germany during World War II.

____ 5. The economies of the United States and the nations of Europe are closely related.

____ 6. The Europeans were reluctant to approve GATT because they thought economic problems in the United States would drag down their economies.

____ 7. Both the United States and Russia have reduced the number of troops they have stationed in Europe.

____ 8. Croatia, the largest and most powerful of the former Yugoslav republics, tried to subdue its Muslim neighbors in Bosnia.

____ 9. Russia and several other eastern European countries are now members of NATO.

____ 10. Under the Dayton peace plan, Bosnia was divided into two ethnic zones.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. the Euro

12. Marshall Plan

13. European Economic Community (EC)

14. Operation Joint Venture

15. nationalism

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. Peace in Bosnia is a vital U.S. interest, and American troops should remain there until peace has been secured.

    b. The United States should continue to defend Europe.

    c. NATO should be expanded.

17. Describe two major changes in Europe as a result of the fall of communism.

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UNIT TEST

LATIN AMERICA

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Haitian president Aristide was returned to power after U.S. forces occupied Haiti.

____ 2. Mexico, like many other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, has been politically unstable.

____ 3. Mexico is the United States' third-largest trading partner after Canada and Japan.

____ 4. Cuba's communist revolution had little effect on other Latin American countries.

____ 5. Present U.S. policy toward Latin America emphasizes the containment of communism.

____ 6. In 1994, Mexico's economy suffered after President Zedillo lifted Mexico's fixed exchange rate against the U.S. dollar.

____ 7. In 1996, right-wing candidate Arnoldo Aleman defeated the Sandinista candidate, Daniel Ortega, in presidential elections in Nicaragua.

____ 8. A revolutionary group in Peru called the Shining Path held foreign diplomats captive in the Japanese embassy for many months beginning in 1996.

____ 9. Chile may become the newest member of NAFTA.

____ 10. Opponents of the North American Free Trade Agreement said that the agreement would harm U.S. workers because many manufacturing jobs would move to Mexico.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. narcoterrorism

12. Cuban missile crisis

13. Reagan Doctrine

14. North American Free Trade Agreement

15. drug cartels

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.
    a. The United States should lift the economic embargo against Cuba.

    b. A U.S.–Latin American free-trade zone should be established.

    c. The United States should use military means to combat the Latin American drug trade.

17. Describe two major economic problems that seem to affect many Latin American countries.

18. Describe the purpose of the Helms-Burton Act and tell why U.S. trading partners were opposed to it.

473

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UNIT TEST

THE MIDDLE EAST

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. The modern history of the Middle East has been dominated by conflict between Arabs and Israelis.

____ 2. In 1947, the United Nations proposed that two states, one Arab and one Jewish, be created in Palestine.

____ 3. The United States at first refused to recognize the new nation of Israel.

____ 4. Egypt's President Nasser successfully unified all Arab nations into the United Arab Republic.

____ 5. Israel is the most populous country in the Middle East.

____ 6. Khomeini "Westernized" Iran after seizing the government from the shah in 1979.

____ 7. The September 1993 peace agreement between the PLO and Israel included a provision by Israel to create a Palestinian homeland.

____ 8. Yassir Arafat is the leader of the PLO.

____ 9. Israel occupies the West Bank but no Israelis have been allowed to settle there.

____ 10. The Persian Gulf War was caused by Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Zionism

12. Palestine Liberation Organization

13. UN Resolutions 242 and 338

14. *intifada*

15. Camp David Accords

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

    a. The United States should lift its economic embargo against Iran.

    b. The United States should support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

    c. The United States should pressure Israel to return the Golan Heights to Syria.

17. Describe the causes of conflict in the Middle East from the perspectives of both a Palestinian and an Israeli.

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UNIT TEST

RUSSIA

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

____ 1. Under Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union held contested elections, reduced censorship, and sought to improve relations with the United States.

____ 2. Eleven of the former Soviet republics became members of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

____ 3. Boris Yeltsin led the August 1991 coup that overthrew Gorbachev and his Soviet government.

____ 4. The idea of the "domino theory" was developed by the Soviet Union to justify its invasion of Afghanistan.

____ 5. Détente refers to the easing of tensions between the superpowers in the 1970s.

____ 6. The Soviet Union ceased to exist after Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation on December 25, 1991.

____ 7. During World War II, the United States and Soviet Union were enemies.

____ 8. Many of the significant breakthroughs in U.S.–Soviet relations occurred under Presidents Nixon and Reagan.

____ 9. In December 1993, Boris Yeltsin's supporters did not win enough seats in the elections to gain power in the parliament.

____ 10. Boris Yeltsin's economic "shock therapy" included privatization and the lifting of price controls.

Definitions: Using complete sentences, write a short definition for each of the following terms.

11. Chechnya

12. Warsaw Pact

13. Cold War

14. economic "shock therapy"

15. privatization

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following.

16. Write one pro and one con argument for each of the following statements.

   a. The United States should negotiate nuclear disarmament with Russia.

   b. The United States should continue to support Boris Yeltsin.

   c. The U.S. government should continue to send economic aid to Russia.

17. Describe the reasons for and the outcome of the war in Chechnya.

477

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UNIT TEST ANSWERS

478

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. T

2. F—Republicans control both houses of the 105th Congress.

3. F—They often disagree.

4. T

5. T

6. T

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—The gridlock was brought about by disagreement over balancing the federal budget.

11. The Cabinet is made up of the secretaries of thirteen executive departments and the attorney general, along with the heads of other key administrative agencies. All are appointed by the president and can be fired by the president.

12. There is divided government when the executive and legislative branches are controlled by different parties.

13. PACs are tools through which special interest groups raise and contribute money to political campaigns.

14. The chief justice "leads" the Supreme Court in presiding over conferences, assigning associate justices to write opinions, and determining the list of cases the Court will consider. The chief is paid more than the associates; however, his or her vote carries no more weight than any of the other justices.

15. When political parties and/or the president and Congress cannot agree on certain legislation, they reach an impasse—or legislative gridlock.

16. Students can pick any three Cabinet members. Refer to "The Clinton Administration" as a guide.

17. Term limits and campaign finance reform will have an effect on the members of Congress themselves. Many experts think Congress will not pass such legislation because its members do not want to leave office or lose their chance for reelection.

18. Answers may vary, but students should explain that the Court interprets laws and the Constitution. Its decisions are important because they can limit or expand the power of the federal government.

THE BUDGET DEFICIT

1. T

2. F—A deficit can be lowered by reducing spending, raising taxes, or a combination of the two.

3. T

4. T

5. F—The deficit has gone down in the last few years; it was highest in 1992.

6. F—Mandatory, or entitlement spending, is the highest of the categories.

7. T

8. F—Congress has not yet passed a balanced budget amendment.

9. T

10. F—The interest continues to go up as the national debt increases.

11. Mandatory, or entitlement, spending covers programs such as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid. Anyone who qualifies is entitled to receive benefits.

12. The national debt is the sum of all deficits the U.S. government has accumulated over the years.

13. Discretionary spending pays for all the programs in the budget whose funding is adjusted by the president and Congress every year. It does not include defense spending.

14. A joint budget resolution is passed by both houses of Congress by April each year. It sets guidelines for how much the government can spend and predicts how much revenue it will take in.

15. Some leaders want to ensure that Social Security will not run out of money by enacting a privatization plan whereby Americans would place some of their Social Security payment in private investment plans.

16. Students must present both a pro and a con argument for all three statements. Answers will vary. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Many experts believe that Social Security will dry up in future years because the number of retirees is going up faster than the number of younger workers who are paying into the system. Americans are living longer and millions of "baby boomers" will begin to retire in 2008.

18. Congress and the president had not agreed on a budget for FY96 by October 1, 1995, when that fiscal year began. On two occasions Congress refused to approve temporary spending bills that would have kept the government running because the majority Republicans and President Clinton would not compromise on the budget plan. Both parties finally agreed to some concessions that allowed federal workers to go back to work.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

1. F—It was added by the first Congress in 1789 as the first ten amendments.

2. T

3. F—The Handgun Control Act was challenged in Court under rights granted by the Tenth Amendment.

4. T

5. F—The courts have ruled that certain types of speech and writing can be limited.

6. F—Federal laws passed by Congress restrict some kinds of weapons, such as sawed-off shotguns and fully automatic machine guns and rifles.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—More than forty states have passed legislation prohibiting doctor-assisted suicide.

11. The exclusionary rule says that any illegally seized evidence cannot be presented in a trial.

12. Under the U.S. system of federalism, the states and the federal government share power in a system outlined by the Constitution.

13. In its 1966 decision in *Miranda v. Arizona*, the Supreme Court ruled that suspects in police custody must be read their legal rights before being questioned.

14. Euthanasia refers to the act of putting someone to death to end their suffering.

15. Unenumerated rights are rights not specifically mentioned in the Constitution.

16. Students must present both a pro and a con argument for all three statements. Their answers must be factual, and the teacher's judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" for likely responses.

17. The Fourth Amendment protects against unreasonable searches and seizures; the Fifth Amendment protects suspects from self-incrimination; the Sixth Amendment guarantees the right to a speedy trial with a jury, the right to an attorney, and the right to confront witnesses; and the Eighth Amendment forbids excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment.

18. Answers will vary, but students should base their answers on the information presented and discussed in this chapter.

CRIME AND DRUGS

1. T

2. T

3. F—Violent crime is concentrated in the low-income neighborhoods of the inner city.

4. F—The crash of the TWA plane was not determined to be a case of domestic terrorism.

5. F—The Brady bill passed Congress in 1993 and became law as the Handgun Control Act in 1994.

6. T

7. F—Most federal drug programs spend more money fighting the supply of drugs.

8. T

9. T

10. T

11. The Brady bill, now the Handgun Control Act, calls for a five-day waiting period for the purchase of a handgun.

12. Mandatory sentencing laws obligate judges to sentence criminals to at least a minimum term in prison.

13. "Three strikes and you're out" refers to a crime-fighting tactic of giving mandatory life sentences to criminals convicted of three felonies for violent crimes.

14. The Second Amendment refers to the right of the people to keep and bear arms.

15. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 provided $30 billion over six years for crime control. The act added police officers, banned some assault weapons, and imposed some mandatory life sentences.

16. Students are asked to give both a pro and a con response to all three statements. Answers may vary, and teacher's judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" for likely responses.

17. Answers should include information in *Current Issues* explaining how poverty and crime are related.

18. Items should be supported by factual and accurate information presented in *Current Issues*, class activities, and discussions.

THE ECONOMY

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. F—Roosevelt fought the Great Depression by creating millions of public works jobs.

5. F—The Fed often lowers interest rates during recessions to stimulate the economy.

6. F—During periods of high inflation, people are less inclined to save money.

7. F—The economy grew during most of Clinton's first term.

8. T

9. F—Inflation was low and the unemployment rate had dropped.

10. F—Under a flat tax, people would pay taxes based on the same percentage.

11. Inflation is a continuing rise in prices for goods and services.

12. A recession is a time marked by increased unemployment and declines in production, spending, and consumer demand.

13. Supply-side economics refers to an approach that limits the government's role in the economy. Supply-siders believe that the economy will flourish if businesses and consumers are allowed to pursue their own interests within a free marketplace not controlled by the government.

14. Productivity refers to the amount of goods produced per person per hour.

15. International interdependence refers to the dependence of the American economy on the economies of other nations and the dependence of other economies on the U.S. economy.

16. Students are to give both a pro and a con response to each statement. Refer to "The Debate" section at the end of the chapter for

possible answers. Students may include other valid responses; therefore, teacher judgment is important.

17. The correct response is a. The retired couple will be hurt the most by inflation. While their costs go up, their fixed income does not. Others have a chance to increase their incomes.

EDUCATION

1. F—Unequal education opportunities often result from local property tax-based funding.

2. T

3. T

4. F—Most immigrants wanted their children to learn English.

5. F—Local governments provide most of the funding for education.

6. T

7. T

8. T

9. F—The study of Western culture focuses on contributions made by Europeans and their colonial descendants.

10. T

11. Busing refers to a court-ordered plan whereby school districts must transport students from neighborhood schools to other schools in the district to achieve racial integration.

12. Desegregation took place in U.S. schools after the Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional for school districts to separate students by race.

13. Multicultural education would study contributions made by people from all world cultures.

14. Magnet schools offer specialized curricula designed to attract students from all over the district for the purpose of encouraging racial integration.

15. School choice refers to the practice of allowing parents in certain states or districts to choose the school they want their children to attend.

16. Students must provide one argument for and one argument against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion, and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

17. Head Start schools attempt to teach 3- and 4-year-olds basic concepts, such as prereading skills, that many believe will keep students in low-income areas from falling too far behind in elementary school. The goal is to help break the poverty cycle.

18. Decentralization allows parents a greater role in determining the kind of education they want for their children.

19. Answers will vary. Look for logical reforms that are supported by statements that indicate how each change would improve the quality of education. Students must identify three changes.

ENVIRONMENT

1. T

2. F—Such changes have great impact.

3. F—Acid rain is an international problem.

4. F—Many states have few sites left; others are running out of sites.

5. T

6. T

7. F—Many have not been identified, and all of those identified have not yet been cleaned up.

8. F—The incinerators can pollute the air and may produce hazardous ash.

9. T

10. T

11. Representatives from 178 nations met in Brazil to negotiate environmental agreements.

12. The ozone layer is a thin layer of gas that protects Earth from the harmful ultraviolet rays of the sun.

13. The greenhouse effect refers to the gradual rise in the temperature of Earth's atmosphere caused by carbon dioxide trapping the sun's heat.

14. Superfund is a pool of federal money established to clean up toxic sites when the businesses or people responsible for polluting the sites have not been found.

15. Acid rain is a highly acidic rainfall that causes damage to soil, plants, buildings, and bodies of water.

16. Answers will vary, but a good answer should contain a valid argument agreeing or disagreeing with each of the issues. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Problems associated with Superfund include: (1) officials are unable to identify the original polluters of the sites; (2) when the original polluters are identified, they often are no longer in business; and (3) the amount of money in Superfund is not enough to pay for all the cleanups that are needed.

18. Answers will vary, but typical answers might include the following.
    - acid rain—This problem involves both Canada and the United States (and many nations in Europe).
    - stream and lake pollution—If the body of water crosses national borders, one nation alone cannot solve the problem if the other nation continues to pollute.
    - the Chernobyl incident—Air pollutants were carried across many national borders.
    - greenhouse effect/ozone layer—All nations need to consider how they add to these problems.

HEALTH CARE

1. T

2. T

3. F—Medicaid helps low-income people pay for health care.

4. T

5. T

6. F—310,000 Americans have died from AIDS as of 1996.

7. T

8. F—Health care has increased at a much faster rate than the general inflation rate.

9. F—Recipients have to pay the first $600 of a hospital stay and whatever extra amount doctors charge over the amount the government is willing to pay.

10. F—The new technologies are expensive, and the costs of equipment and services are passed on to patients and their insurers.

11. If doctors treat a patient improperly they are said to be guilty of malpractice.

12. Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is the virus that attacks the white blood cells in the body and causes AIDS.

13. Health insurance carriers commonly enroll their customers in managed care programs such as HMOs to hold down costs by limiting patients' access to more expensive specialists and hospitals.

14. The deductible is the amount of money patients must pay before their insurance coverage begins.

15. Universal coverage refers to an idea that all Americans would be guaranteed health care coverage by the government.

16. Students should give three answers. Possible answers include: (1) the U.S. health care industry has steadily expanded its system to where people no longer pay their own bills (bills are being paid by insurance companies, Medicare, and so forth); (2) the development of expensive new technology has caused a rapid rise in costs; and (3) the rapidly aging population adds to the number of people with health problems.

17. Medicare is a two-part government program that provides for the health needs of older Americans. The first part of Medicare helps pay for hospital nursing care. It is funded through a payroll tax

paid by each working person. The second part is called supplemental medical insurance; it covers 80 percent of doctor fees, laboratory tests, and other expenses and is optional. Medicaid provides for the medical needs of people on welfare.

18. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students should take a stance and then defend it with specific evidence.

19. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students are asked to take a position and then support it with factual arguments.

IMMIGRATION

1. F—Proposition 187 was passed.
2. F—The law was the Chinese Exclusion Act.
3. T
4. T
5. T
6. F—The act allows entry to political refugees, not economic refugees.
7. T
8. T
9. T
10. F—The McCarran-Walter Act added ideology to the requirements for admission of immigrants to the United States. Officials were concerned about immigrants who were communists entering the country.
11. Early immigration laws placed quotas, or limits, on the numbers of non-northern and non-western Europeans who could come to the United States. Officials wanted to preserve the ethnic makeup of the country.
12. Some Americans think that English should be made the official language of the United States to encourage immigrants to learn English.
13. Amnesty is a pardon from the government. In this case it was extended to millions of illegal immigrants.
14. A refugee is a person who flees another country for political or economic reasons.
15. Assimilation refers to the process of becoming like the majority population of a country.
16. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers reflect student opinion, and teachers must use judgment when evaluating. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.
17. Students could give many examples from the list of legislation. Examples include the Chinese Exclusion Act and the "gentlemen's agreement," both of which excluded Asians because of American fears of Asians. The Quota Acts were also discriminatory, purposely based on census figures that did not accurately represent the ethnic makeup of the United States at the time the acts were passed.
18. Many native-born Americans were upset by the swing in immigration from northern and western Europe to immigration from southern and eastern Europe. They were unfamiliar with the cultural customs of the new immigrants and saw them as less desirable than immigrants who settled in the United States in the years prior to 1890.
19. Pro arguments could include: (1) the U.S. economy cannot absorb more immigrants; and (2) immigrants increase the overall labor pool and many are willing to work for lower wages, thus driving down overall wages.

    Con arguments could include: (1) immigrants are important because many are willing to take jobs that many native-born Americans turn down; and (2) the 1990 immigration law will create new jobs for Americans because it encourages the admission of well-educated immigrants who can create new businesses that will hire American workers.

POVERTY

1. T

2. T

3. F—They were parts of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

4. T

5. T

6. F—Medicaid, not Medicare, provides health care to lower-income individuals.

7. F—Only those workers who earn an income below the poverty level qualify for the earned-income tax credit.

8. T

9. T

10. T

11. Empowerment zones are designated places in certain rural and urban areas where unemployment and poverty are high. New businesses are given certain tax breaks for locating in such areas and for hiring local workers.

12. The Great Society was the name of President Johnson's domestic policy program. Among its initiatives were a major civil rights law, Medicare and Medicaid, and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

13. Medicaid provides free or subsidized medical care for low-income Americans. It is jointly funded by the federal and state governments.

14. An earned-income tax credit is an income credit —similar to a rebate—from the federal government given to families who earned less than $15,569 in 1996.

15. Food stamps are vouchers that eligible people can take to the store and redeem for food.

16. Answers will vary. Make sure that student statements are factual. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Many who wanted to eliminate AFDC objected to the cash payment to recipients, which they could spend as they wanted. Critics said AFDC encouraged out-of-wedlock births and provided incentives for recipients to stay unemployed. Others believed the states could do a better job than the federal government in running welfare programs.

18. Answers will vary but may include the possibility of homelessness, lack of adequate food or clothing, and deteriorating health.

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

1. F—Some "Jim Crow" laws remained in effect into the 1960s.

2. F—The military was ordered to integrate by President Harry Truman in 1948.

3. T

4. T

5. F—Such discrimination was prohibited by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

6. F—Federal law does not extend civil rights protections based on sexual orientation, although some state and local laws may extend these rights.

7. F—Women won the right to vote by ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

8. T

9. F—The ERA failed to receive approval from the necessary thirty-eight states and was not added to the Constitution.

10. F—The Defense of Marriage Act states that other states do not have to recognize legal same-sex marriages such as those performed in Hawaii.

11. Proposition 209 was a California initiative that barred the state from discriminating against, or granting preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in public employment, education, or contracting.

12. Affirmative action is a policy that requires employers to take positive steps to overcome the effects of past discrimination.

13. Suffragists were people who led the fight to get the vote primarily for women.

14. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in public accommodations such as restaurants and hotels and in programs receiving federal aid.

15. "Jim Crow" laws were passed in southern states after Reconstruction to segregate public facilities by race.

16. Students must either agree or disagree with each of the statements. Answers will vary. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Teachers should use their judgment when evaluating these essays. Students must take a stance, and then defend it with specific evidence.

DEFENSE

1. F—Defense spending increased because Reagan believed the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in military strength.

2. T

3. T

4. F—Russia and other eastern European countries are only "partners" in NATO—not NATO members.

5. F—The United States has about 100,000 troops in Europe.

6. F—The War Powers Act was passed during the Nixon administration and was in response to U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—The goal of the U.S. effort was to uphold a peace treaty ending Bosnia's civil war.

11. The missile defense system that some officials want to develop would use space satellites to find and track enemy missiles fired at the United States, and then signal on-ground defense missiles to intercept and destroy the enemy missiles.

12. NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—is a military alliance that includes the United States, Canada, most of western Europe, Greece, and Turkey.

13. National security means protection of vital economic and political interests as well as defense of the nation's borders.

14. In 1995, the Pentagon added a new strategy called peace engagement to support its increasing number of global peacekeeping operations.

15. The War Powers Act limits the president's use of U.S. troops by requiring the president to advise Congress before sending troops to a potential combat zone and limiting the time they can stay there without congressional authorization.

16. Students must either agree or disagree with each of the statements. Answers should be factual, and teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

17. The question calls for student opinion and critical thinking. Answers should be based on fact, and teacher's judgment is important.

18. The question calls for student opinion and critical thinking. Answers should be based on fact, and teacher's judgment is important.

19. The United States defends its allies by placing troops and nuclear missiles on allied soil, giving allies money to keep their defense systems up to date, and joining alliances such as NATO.

20. Experts who agree that the role of the U.S. military is changing point to a lessening of hostility with the Soviet Union and the need to be able to defend U.S. interests and allies around the globe and support peacekeeping operations when called upon.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

1. T

2. T

3. F—There are 114 democracies now; more than double the number of the 1970s.

4. T

5. F—Bush sent troops to Panama to remove Noriega.

6. F—The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a United Nations document.

7. T

8. F—The two countries have not agreed on the linkage of human rights and trade.

9. T

10. F—Nearly all Latin American nations are now democracies.

11. Decolonization refers to the period after World War II and into the 1960s when most European colonial powers gave up their overseas colonies.

12. Self-determination is the belief that a country should have the ability to govern itself without outside control or interference.

13. When individuals commit grave offenses against the laws of warfare, those acts are known as war crimes. They are often crimes against humanity such as murder, rape, and torture.

14. National interest is similar to an individual's self-interest. A nation, like a person, bases its actions on what will be to its benefit or advantage.

15. Democracy building refers to the actions taken by the U.S. government to help bring or restore democracy in certain countries. Often such actions involve using the military.

16. Students must either agree or disagree with each of the statements. Answers will vary. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

17. Students should refer to such events as the end of World War II and decolonization, the fall of the Iron Curtain, U.S. military efforts in several Latin American countries, political transformation in South Africa, and other events you may have discussed in class.

18. Answers should focus on U.S. efforts in Panama, Haiti, and Bosnia.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

1. F—Tariffs discourage purchase of foreign products.

2. F—The floating exchange system was not developed until 1971.

3. F—NAFTA only affects trade between the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

4. T

5. T

6. F—The United States has a trade deficit with both Japan and China.

7. T

8. T

9. T

10. F—The Trade Act of 1988 requires the president to limit imports from countries that do not give American exports the same treatment as their products receive in the United States.

11. Free trade refers to trade without restrictions.

12. The World Trade Organization was created by the latest GATT agreement to settle trade disagreements between GATT members.

13. Protectionism refers to the erecting of barriers to free trade.

14. Quotas are an established maximum number of products that may be imported into a nation.

15. A trade deficit occurs when a nation buys more foreign products than it sells to other nations.

16. Quotas restrict imports to a specific number. Tariffs are taxes on imports that make foreign products more expensive than similar domestic products.

17. Low-skilled jobs are most likely to be lost because U.S. companies will move factories that employ such workers to countries where workers will command less money.

18. If the United States imposes trade barriers against importing nations, those nations may retaliate by limiting American imports into their own nations. That would hurt those American businesses that are trying to sell their products outside the United States.

WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

1. F—The five members of the UN Security Council are the world's top arms exporters.

2. T

3. F—The International Atomic Energy Agency has the power to inspect nuclear facilities but does not have the power to enforce treaties.

4. T

5. T

6. T

7. F—Many experts believe that the spread of nuclear weapons has slowed over the past twenty-five years.

8. T

9. T

10. T

11. Nuclear technology refers to developments in weaponry, energy, and medicine using atomic energy.

12. Nuclear proliferation refers to the spread of nuclear technology, usually relating to weapons.

13. Nuclear nonproliferation is the stopping or slowing of the spread of nuclear weapon technology.

14. Conventional weapons are nonnuclear weapons such as tanks, aircraft, and missiles.

15. The nuclear club refers to the group of nations that currently have nuclear weapon capabilities.

16. Students must provide one answer for and one answer against the three issues. Answers should reflect student opinion or factual information from the reading, and teachers must use judgment when evaluating.

17. The IAEA serves as a watchdog by inspecting nuclear facilities. It ensures that members of the international community do not use nuclear technology or fuel to make bombs.

18. Student responses may correspond to one treaty or agreement they have read about in the "Weapons Proliferation" chapter.

WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

1. T

2. F—Africa will likely continue to suffer severe food shortages.

3. T

4. T

5. T

6. F—The United States commits less than 1 percent of its annual budget to foreign aid.

7. F—Most aid goes to the Middle East and Latin America.

8. T

9. F—Most developing countries are near or south of the equator.

10. T

11. Malnutrition occurs when people have a diet that lacks proper nutrients.

12. The United States gives money to international aid organizations that then distribute these funds to needy countries as multilateral aid.

13. Bilateral aid goes directly from one country to another country.

14. The U.S. Agency for International Development is a government agency that oversees a variety of development and humanitarian assistance programs.

15. An action that helps a nation gain military or economic advantage is said to be in the national interest of that nation.

16. Students are asked to give both a pro and a con response to each of the three statements. Answers will vary, but should be factual. Teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for likely responses.

17. The United States gives aid: (1) to maintain a strong alliance system around the world; (2) to raise the standard of living in other countries, often enabling the recipients to buy more American products; (3) to promote political stability in a region by providing governments with military equipment and funds for economic development; and (4) for humanitarian reasons.

18. Development and humanitarian assistance helps developing nations build roads, power plants, schools, and hospitals, and provides food for the hungry. Security assistance is used to strengthen the armed forces and economies of friendly governments, enabling such governments to buy American-made weapons, airplanes, and military vehicles, and to train soldiers for their national defense. It is also granted to friendly governments for general budget use and to finance development projects.

EAST ASIA

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. T

5. F—China has had the fastest-growing economy in the 1990s.

6. T

7. T

8. F—China still has a communist government.

9. F—Taiwan is not part of the People's Republic of China. Hong Kong became part of China in 1997.

10. T

11. A trade deficit occurs when imports exceed exports in value.

12. The People's Republic of China subscribes to a "one China" doctrine, claiming that Taiwan is legally part of China and not a separate country.

13. Nations that receive most favored nation (MFN) trade status from the United States are given reductions in tariffs on goods they export to the United States.

14. The Mutual Security Treaty is an agreement signed in 1952 between the United States and Japan that ended U.S. military occupation but committed the United States to defend Japan in case Japan was attacked.

15. Tiananmen Square was the location in Beijing where an attack on prodemocracy demonstrators by Chinese troops in 1989 resulted in thousands of deaths and injuries.

16. A consumer advocate would likely urge continued Japanese trade with few restrictions, because consumers would benefit from lower prices and high-quality products.

17. An unemployed autoworker would likely urge restrictions on Japanese imports so that U.S. industries, such as the automobile industry, could recover and expand and perhaps restore his or her job.

18. Students must present both a pro and a con argument for all three statements. Their answers must be factual, and the teacher's judgment is important. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible responses.

EUROPE

1. T

2. T

3. T

4. F—NATO was formed in 1949 as an alliance to protect Europe from invasion by communist forces from eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

5. T

6. F—Europeans hoped that a GATT agreement with the United States would help their sluggish economies.

7. T

8. F—Serbia is the largest republic, and it has sent troops into Bosnia.

9. F—They are not yet members, but several have asked to join.

10. T

11. Euro is the name of the single European currency that is scheduled to be in use by 1999.

12. The Marshall Plan provided billions of dollars in U.S. aid, investment, and trade to rebuild Europe after World War II.

13. The European Economic Community was formed in 1957. Its twelve member nations operate economically almost as if they were one country. In 1993 all trade barriers in the EC were eliminated.

14. Operation Joint Venture is the name of the NATO peacekeeping mission in Bosnia.

15. Nationalism is often described as a population's devotion to their religion, culture, or ethnicity.

16. Students are to give both a pro and a con answer to all three parts. Teacher judgment is important to determine if answers are based on fact or are merely opinion. See "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for possible answers.

17. Students should mention and expand on two of the following changes: the reunification of Germany; the demilitarization of Europe; the rise of nationalism.

LATIN AMERICA

1. T

2. F—Mexico has been relatively stable politically.

3. T

4. F—Cuba's revolution inspired other revolutionary groups, especially in Central America.

5. F—Present U.S. policy emphasizes increasing freer trade in the hemisphere.

6. T

7. T

8. F—The revolutionary group that held the hostages in the Japanese embassy in Peru are called the Tupac Amaru.

9. T

10. T

11. Drug traffickers who use violence and intimidation of government officials to practice their trade engage in narcoterrorism.

12. The Cuban missile crisis occurred in 1962 after the United States learned that the Soviet Union had missiles in Cuba and was constructing missile launch sites. President Kennedy placed U.S. forces on alert and blockaded Cuba until the missiles were removed.

13. The Reagan Doctrine stated that the United States should strengthen its presence in Central America to prevent communist expansion.

14. The North American Free Trade Agreement would lower or eliminate tariffs on a large portion of U.S. exports to Mexico and Canada.

15. Drug cartels are crime organizations that wield considerable power in Colombia because they make so much money from illegal drug trafficking.

16. Students should give both a pro argument and a con argument for all three statements. Answers will vary but should be based on fact. Teacher judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for likely responses.

17. Choices could include: land ownership by a few families; land reform; unstable governments; civil war; lack of education; unemployment; and other social and economic problems.

18. The Helms-Burton Act seeks to prevent other nations from trading with Cuba by punishing them when they do. U.S. trading partners said that the United States should not be able to tell them who they can or cannot trade with.

THE MIDDLE EAST

1. T

2. T

3. F—The United States was one of the first nations to officially recognize Israel.

4. F—Nasser's attempt failed.

5. F—Egypt is the most populous country in the Middle East, with more than 55 million people.

6. F—Khomeini moved away from the "Westernization" started by the shah and moved Iran's government toward Islamic fundamentalism.

7. F—The agreement gave limited authority to Palestinians in the occupied territories but did not promise them a homeland.

8. T

9. F—Thousands of Israelis have settled in the West Bank.

10. T

11. Zionism was a political movement founded in 1897 to create a homeland for Jews.

12. The PLO was formed in 1964 to lead the fight for the creation of a Palestinian state.

13. These UN resolutions call for an end to all declarations of war and for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab territories. They also call for continued negotiations and the "just settlement" of the Palestinian refugee problem.

14. The *intifada* was a violent protest against the presence of Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories by Palestinians who live there.

15. The Camp David Accords established a framework for peace in the Middle East. President Carter brought together the leaders of Egypt and Israel at the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland.

16. Students are to write both a pro and a con response to each of the three statements. Their answers must be factual, and teacher judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" at the end of the chapter for likely responses.

17. Palestinians would say that their ancestors have been living in the region for hundreds of years, that the Israelis forced them from their homes in Palestine in 1948, and that the only way to get back their land is to fight. Israelis would say that their nation was legally established by the United Nations and that they have a right to it, that the land was given to them by God thousands of years ago, and that they will fight to hold on to it.

RUSSIA

1. T

2. T

3. F—Yeltsin mobilized opposition to the coup and helped restore Gorbachev to the presidency.

4. F—The United States used the idea of the domino theory as part of its justification for involvement in Vietnam.

5. T

6. T

7. F—During World War II, the United States and Soviet Union were allies.

8. T

9. T

10. T

11. Chechnya is a predominantly Muslim region in southern Russia that has revolted against Russian rule and wants to become independent.

12. The Warsaw Pact was the military alliance of Soviet-controlled east European nations, designed to offset NATO in the west.

13. The Cold War was an era of conflict between the superpowers fought with propaganda, intimidating arms buildups, and attempts to gain allies through the use of economic and military aid.

14. Economic "shock therapy" refers to Yeltsin's radical measures to transform Russia's centrally controlled economy into a free-market system.

15. Yeltsin's plan of privatization is to sell state-owned assets to Russian citizens to encourage worker ownership and entrepreneurship.

16. Students are asked to write both a pro argument and a con argument for each of the three statements. Answers will vary, but should be accurate and factual. Teacher's judgment is important. Refer to "The Debate" in *Current Issues* for likely responses.

17. For many years, the people of Chechnya—many of whom are Muslims—resisted rule from Moscow. So when the Soviet Union broke up, a proindependence political group sought independence from Russia. A war between factions soon broke out. Boris Yeltsin sent in 40,000 Russian troops to suppress Chechen fighters, but with little success. Finally, after months of bloodshed, Russia's security chief, Alexander Lebed, negotiated a cease-fire calling for the issue of Chechnya's independence to be determined in five years. Russian troops pulled out, and Chechnya elected a parliament and president who supported independence.

492

STUDENT HANDOUTS

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STUDENT HANDOUT 1

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Learning About Congress

As you read "The 105th Congress" chapter, look for answers to the following questions.

1. What was historically important about the 104th Congress?

2. What is divided government? What are some disadvantages to having divided government? What are some advantages?

3. What legislation did the 104th Congress and President Clinton agree on? What issues did they not agree on?

4. Why do some Americans want to limit the amount of money a candidate may spend to run for office? Why has it been difficult for Congress to pass campaign reform legislation?

5. Under the Constitution, which branch of government is affected by term limits? What are some reasons why some Americans want term limits? What are some reasons why some Americans are opposed to term limits?

6. What is a political action committee (PAC)? Why do some Americans want to do away with campaign contributions made by PACs? Why do some Americans think PACs are valuable to the election and legislative processes?

Using *Current Issues* and other sources, answer the following questions.

7. Who is the majority leader of the Senate? Who is the minority leader of the Senate?

8. Who is the speaker of the House of Representatives?

9. Name the two U.S. senators who represent your state.

10. Name the member of the U.S. House of Representatives who represents your district.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 2

THE BUDGET DEFICIT

Ranking the Budget

Listed below are twenty categories of federal programs. You are the budget director and must present the final budget to the president. Rank the programs in order of priority using the number 1 for the most important item, down to number 20 for the least important. Also indicate the percentage of the federal budget that you want to devote to each category. You may eliminate any programs you believe unnecessary and add any you believe essential.

Priority Rank	Percent of Budget	
________	________	Defense
________	________	Foreign aid (technical, military, humanitarian)
________	________	Social Security increases
________	________	Subsidized housing for people with low incomes
________	________	Subsidy payments to farmers to maintain stable prices and inexpensive food
________	________	Food stamps
________	________	Space research and technology
________	________	Highway construction
________	________	National health program
________	________	Aid to education
________	________	Urban mass transportation
________	________	Unemployment benefits
________	________	Energy research
________	________	Veterans benefits
________	________	Drug control
________	________	Environmental concerns (pollution control)
________	________	Student loans
________	________	Health research (AIDS, cancer, etc.)
________	________	Cost of living raises for government workers
________	________	Crime control (aid to states and local governments for law enforcement, training, and corrections)

After you have ranked the budget items, write a paragraph stating what you think will be the economic, social, and political implications of your budget.

1. Economic implications

2. Social implications

3. Political implications

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STUDENT HANDOUT 3

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Constitutional Amendments

Complete the chart using information from "Constitutional Rights" in *Current Issues.*

Amendment Topic	Purpose	Supreme Court Decisions About the Amendment
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		
11.		
12.		
13.		
14.		

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STUDENT HANDOUT 4

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Topic Research

Name of topic: ______________________________

1. Why is your topic important?

2. What problems or issues does your topic pose?

3. List the positions that can be taken in regard to your topic.

4. What arguments can be offered to support each position?

5. What evidence did you find to support those arguments?

6. Who might be influenced by each position? How might they be influenced?

7. What are the costs to society of each position?

8. What are the benefits to society of each position?

9. What additional information would you like to have before making a policy recommendation? Where might you find this information?

10. What are your recommendations on this issue?

11. What steps can you take to promote the adoption of your policy?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 5

CRIME AND DRUGS

Community Crime Survey

Survey five members of your community, asking each respondent whether he or she agrees or disagrees. Write each respondent's initials in the appropriate column, fitting the responses of all survey participants on this page.

	Agree	Disagree
1. Crime is a serious problem in my neighborhood.		
2. Stricter punishment and stronger law enforcement will reduce crime in the United States.		
3. Crime is concentrated in low-income neighborhoods in most cities.		
4. Unemployment and poverty are the indirect causes of most crime.		
5. Drug use and the drug trade are the causes of most crime.		
6. Strict gun control laws will curb violent crime.		
7. The right to own a gun is protected by the U.S. Constitution.		
8. Most people who are arrested for committing violent crimes go to prison.		
9. People who have been found guilty of at least three violent crimes should be imprisoned for life.		
10. Convicted criminals should be sent to prison for a mandatory length of time.		
11. Government should spend more money on drug prevention and less on punishment for drug users and traffickers.		
12. Americans should be willing to give up some of their traditional freedoms so that the government can better fight domestic terrorism.		

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THE ECONOMY

Cause/Effect Relationships

Explain the relationship between each of the events in the pairs listed below. How can a. cause b. to occur?

1. a. Productivity (production per worker per hour) is higher in a foreign nation than in the United States.
   b. Products made in that nation cost less than equivalent U.S. products.

2. a. The value of the U.S. dollar rises in comparison to the value of other currencies.
   b. Unemployment in the United States increases.

3. a. The federal government spends more than it takes in each year in taxes.
   b. Interest rates for consumer loans increase.

4. a. Interest rates increase.
   b. Employment opportunities decrease.

5. a. Inflation is high.
   b. Fewer bank loans are available.

6. a. The government reduces taxes.
   b. Employment rises.

7. a. Unemployment rises in the United States.
   b. The federal budget deficit increases.

8. a. Americans buy fewer imports.
   b. Foreigners buy fewer American goods.

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EDUCATION

Research Outline

Use this handout to gather information you need to prepare a mock television report.

Topic:______________________________

1. What are problems or areas of possible improvement?

2. What changes do I recommend?

3. Who will be influenced by my proposed changes?

4. How will they be influenced by my changes?

5. What are the benefits of my proposed changes?

6. What are the possible negative aspects of my proposed changes?

7. Other information:

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ENVIRONMENT

Pollution Analysis

Type of pollution or problem	Source or cause	Damage it causes	Extent of damage to date	Damage projections	Existing legislation
Global warming					
Ozone depletion					
Acid rain					
Nuclear waste					
Toxic waste					
Solid waste					
Endangered species					

505

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HEALTH CARE

Student Survey

You may work together to find the correct response for each of the following true/false statements. Use any source of information necessary to determine if the statement is true or false. If you cannot find the information, write down the answer you think is correct.

____ 1. In some states, family health insurance costs have risen as much as 400 percent since 1980.

____ 2. The average cost of a heart transplant is $162,000.

____ 3. Care for AIDS patients costs an average of $100,000 per patient.

____ 4. The health care industry accounts for about one-seventh of the nation's economy.

____ 5. People with low incomes are significantly less healthy than others.

____ 6. Federal, state, and local governments pay 40 percent of all health care costs.

____ 7. By 2000 the nation's health care bill will approach $1.5 trillion.

____ 8. About 37 million Americans have no health insurance.

____ 9. The average cost of malpractice insurance for a doctor is $13,500 per year.

____ 10. Low-income women are less likely to see a doctor in the early stages of pregnancy than are middle- or high-income women.

____ 11. Low-income men are 40 percent more likely to die of heart diseases than are middle- or high-income men.

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IMMIGRATION

Immigration Candidates

You are a member of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Your task is to screen people who are interested in immigrating to the United States. All the candidates described below would like to enter the United States, but under current U.S. law, immigration is limited and restricted. In the space provided, explain why each of the following persons should or should not be allowed to enter the United States as a permanent resident.

William Babington, Jr.—Thirty-nine years old; single; born and lived in Great Britain all his life; a college-educated engineer with a special skill in computer science. He carries the HIV virus.

José Mendoza—Forty-five years old; married with five children; native of Mexico; forced off his land by low agricultural prices and high inflation; willing to accept any job; desires that his children be given educational opportunities that he never had. He and members of his family cannot speak English.

Griselda Chaidez—Sixty-two-year-old Cuban who refused to leave her sick mother when the rest of her family fled to the United States in the early 1980s. She now wants to join her son and daughter, who have high-paying jobs and have become American citizens. She speaks both Spanish and English.

Ajit Patel—Twenty-nine years old; trained as a medical doctor in India; would like to come to America and begin a practice in pediatrics. His wife, Vanchhana, is a registered nurse. Both speak English, and they have no children.

Phethsana Luangkhoth—Thirty-seven-year-old native of Thailand; owns the successful sandal manufacturing plant in which he first started working as a child. Married with three children. No one in the family speaks English.

Mayrling Reformado—Fifty-five-year-old Filipina civil rights worker; imprisoned twice by a former Philippine government; was a member of the current administration until she began speaking out against civil rights abuses. She fears that if she stays in the Philippines, her life may be in danger. She is well-educated and bilingual, and wants to live with her daughter in Texas.

Zbigniew Stawowy—Forty-year-old native of Poland; fed up with the religious intolerance he and his family have experienced. As a Jew, he often finds himself and his people being blamed for the economic hard times. He is a baker by trade and everyone in his family speaks English. He has two brothers living in Chicago.

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POVERTY

Supporting Generalizations with Facts

The following statements are generalizations based on the information found in "Poverty" in *Current Issues.* If you agree with the generalization, list facts supporting it. If you disagree with the generalization, list facts refuting it.

1. Low-income Americans cannot get along without the federal guarantee of financial assistance.

2. Tax-free empowerment zones are a poor investment of government money.

3. Government welfare perpetuates poverty instead of combating it.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 12

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

Discrimination Cases

Read each of the following fictional cases. Place a C in the blank if you think the ruling was correct and a W if you think it was wrong. Be ready to explain why you believe as you do.

____ 1. When an opening developed in a large corporation for a high-paying job, a less qualified white female employee got the promotion over a more qualified Hispanic man. In getting the promotion, the woman became the highest-ranking woman in the company. The Hispanic man sued the company, demanding that he be given the job because he was more qualified. The white female employee countered by saying that if demoted she would have to go back to a job that paid considerably less.

The court ruled in favor of the Hispanic man.

____ 2. An African-American man was unable to get a promotion because he did not have the training necessary for the higher-level job. The reason for his lack of training was that his company discriminated against African Americans in its training programs years ago. He sued, demanding a promotion along with the special training needed for him to succeed in the higher-level job.

The court said he did not deserve the job because the company's job training program no longer discriminates. But the court also ruled that the company now had to train him and promote him the next time an appropriate job came along.

____ 3. A woman employed in manufacturing was unable to get a promotion in Company A because she lacked the training necessary for a higher-level job. However, she lacked training because she had been discriminated against by her previous employer—Company B. She sued Company B, demanding monetary compensation.

The court ruled against Company B and gave the woman the money.

____ 4. An African-American man working in industry was unable to get a promotion because his poor education made him less qualified than a white male applicant. His poor education was the result of attending inferior, segregated schools in the South in the 1950s. He went to court, claiming that federal affirmative action guidelines entitled him to the promotion. His company argued that even though they would like to promote him, he simply was not qualified to do the job.

The court, citing federal guidelines, forced the company to give the man the promotion and the training necessary to qualify him for the job.

____ 5. A Mexican-American woman, who recently became a citizen of the United States, was denied a promotion because her poor education made her less qualified than a white female applicant. Her poor education was the result of growing up in a nonsupportive environment in Mexico where her family was poor, her father abandoned the family at an early age, and she was never encouraged to excel in school. She went to court seeking the promotion under federal affirmative action guidelines, but her company argued that although they like to promote minorities, this woman simply did not have the skills to do the job.

The court agreed with the company, saying that the wrongs done to her did not take place in the United States, but rather in Mexico when she was a child. The court also said that, now that she is a citizen of the United States, she has an excellent opportunity to improve her skills and make herself more employable.

____ 6. An African-American woman's application to a highly competitive medical school was rejected because other applicants had higher scores on their entrance exams. Her father—a doctor—sent her to private schools and the state university. She did well in college, but could not quite score high enough to gain entry into the medical school she desired. She sued for entry under affirmative action guidelines.

The school admitted her over several higher-scoring white males.

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DEFENSE

Defense Survey

Directions: For each item below, indicate with a check whether you agree or disagree. Be prepared to explain your position.

	Agree	Disagree
1. The best way to protect national security is to make the United States the strongest military power in the world.		
2. Because the economic well-being of the nation depends on securing adequate quantities of oil, the United States should do whatever is necessary to safeguard its sources.		
3. The United States should become part of a UN peacekeeping mission, if such a force is necessary to maintain peace in a far-off country.		
4. The greatest threat to national security today is not military warfare, but economic warfare.		
5. It is in the best interests of the United States to encourage the fledgling democratic movements around the world by providing generous economic and technical assistance.		
6. Environmental disasters like oil spills, the greenhouse effect, and the destruction of the rainforest, while tragic and regrettable, have very little effect on the national security of the United States.		
7. Reducing the defense budget below its present level would seriously jeopardize American security.		
8. The United States should develop a missile defense system.		

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STUDENT HANDOUT 14

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights

This universal declaration of human rights as common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional, or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing, or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment, or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense. (2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offense on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offense, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offense was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home, or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from nonpolitical crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality, or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage, and at its dissolution. (2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses. (3) The family is the natural and fundamental group of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. (2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country. (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to a realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social, and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work, and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work. (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worth of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. (4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts, and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. (2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary, or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible. (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order, and the general welfare in a democratic society. (3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group, or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

After reading the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, answer the following questions.

1. The Declaration identifies three kinds of rights: (1) economic—rights dealing with survival and security; (2) cultural—rights dealing with dignity and self-respect; and (3) political—rights dealing with participation in the political process and control over one's own life. Below, list three rights in each category that you consider most important.

Economic	Cultural	Political
a.	a.	a.
b.	b.	b.
c.	c.	c.

2. What are the similarities between the U.S. Bill of Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? What are some differences between the two documents?

3. If the members of the United Nations knew the rights they listed in the Declaration were more idealistic than realistic, why do you think they bothered to write them down? Are such rights attainable? Why or why not?

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INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Fact-Finding Sheet

You have been asked to develop and defend a comprehensive plan for reducing the trade deficit. To do this, you must evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of one of the approaches being considered by the president. Consider the steps necessary to implement each approach and what factors might make it difficult to make your approach work. This fact-finding sheet will assist you with your evaluation. Answer each of the following questions.

Approach: ______________________________

1. What are the strengths of this approach?

2. What are its weaknesses?

3. How likely is this approach to be adopted?

4. What factors might block it from being adopted?

5. What would have to occur for this approach to be accepted?

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WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

Cost/Benefit Chart

Complete the cost/benefit chart for each issue.

1. The United States should eliminate foreign aid.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
less developed countries		

2. The United States should abolish the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
less developed countries		

3. The United States should promote family planning in less developed countries to stop population growth.

	Costs	Benefits
United States		
less developed countries		

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LATIN AMERICA

A Plea for More Understanding

Sometimes I try to imagine what my life would be like if my parents hadn't moved to America. I have a cousin in Mexico, and he had to quit school to go to work and help his family. He takes care of livestock and works as a laborer, while I play football and finish high school. I would be working, too, if we had stayed in Mexico.

I feel the difference between Mexico and the United States from the moment I land at the airport in Guadalajara, when we visit our relatives. Everything is a lot cleaner in the U.S:, even the airports, and the contrast of the poverty in Mexico hits you right away.

But there is a lot more to Mexico than poverty. Americans have a stereotype that Mexicans are lazy lowriders who drive around in cars with dice hanging from the rearview mirror. I've also heard people say that Mexicans are thieves. Sometimes at school, my friends will say, if something's lost or missing, "Well, Minio probably stole it." Though I know they are only kidding, it bothers me.

"Just Another Mexican"

I've seen cartoons where Mexicans are portrayed as drunk and snoring under a cactus. These stereotypes can cause real trouble. My father is a diabetic who has to take medicine constantly. If he doesn't, then he gets lightheaded. Once, my father fell down the steps at the post office and someone called the police because they thought he was drunk. He was trying to explain about his diabetes, but his English isn't very good, and the police brought him home and wouldn't listen to him. I guess they thought he was "just another drunk Mexican."

Americans often don't know the best things about our culture. In Mexico, the families are a lot closer than here. In many families, the grandparents still live at home and help take care of the grandchildren while the parents work.

In the small villages, like the one where my mother was born, many people have adobe houses, which they build themselves. They bring in truckfuls of dirt and mix it with water to make the adobe bricks, and let them dry in the sun. Then they put their houses together brick by brick. Does that sound like a lazy people?

Mexicans are also very religious. I was baptized, took first communion, and got all the sacraments. In Mexico, even the smallest towns have a church.

Living here, it is hard to keep the Mexican traditions, but we try. There are times when I feel really American, as if I didn't have any Mexican roots at all. That's usually when I'm around my friends.

Feeling Mexican

Other times, I feel really Mexican, like when I go to charreadas (that's a rodeo with mariachi music and dancing, and Mexican food) and everyone only speaks Spanish. I feel I really fit in there.

In Mexico, they think everyone over here is rich, because in comparison most Americans are better off. When I visit my relatives in Mexico, I buy my cousins Cokes and bring them clothes, because they don't have much.

I live in America and I'm happy here, but Mexico is in my heart. When I'm there, I love the evening ritual of meeting friends in the center of town. About an hour after the sun goes down, everyone gets together in the plaza. The girls walk around the plaza in one direction, and the boys all walk in the opposite direction. We carry tightly rolled up balls of crepe paper called serpentinas, and we throw them around the girls we like, so they get tangled up.

One of the big problems that Mexico has is corruption. My parents and my uncles have told me that, in Mexico, if you commit a murder or some big crime, you can get out of it by bribing the higher officials.

Americans need to understand the good things about Mexico. And they need to understand why so many Mexicans come here looking for work, to escape the poverty and the corruption. When my uncles, who work here illegally, were picked up by the border patrol and sent back, one of the immigration agents was nice to them. He knew they would come back as soon as they could. "Oh well," he said to them, "if it weren't for you, I wouldn't have a job."

"A Plea for More Understanding" by Minio Plata with Naomi Marcus. Appeared in *Update*, November 1988. Reprinted by permission of Scholastic, Inc.

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THE MIDDLE EAST

Middle East Peace Proposals

Nation or interest group you represent: ______________________________

1. What is your primary objective?

2. What would be the ideal resolution of this situation for you?

3. What would be an acceptable compromise for you?

4. What outcomes would you be unwilling to accept?

5. What are you willing to offer to please all of the groups concerned?

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RUSSIA

Events in U.S.–Soviet and U.S.–Russian History

Using *Current Issues* and other sources, list important events in U.S.–Soviet and U.S.–Russian relations in appropriate places along the timeline. Write a brief statement of the effect of each event on relations between the two countries and then rate each time period from 5 (very positive) to 1 (very negative).

Time Period	Event	Effect on U.S.–Soviet or U.S.–Russian Relations	Rating (1–5)
1945–49			
1950–54			
1955–59			
1960–64			
1965–69			
1970–74			
1975–79			
1980–84			
1985–89			
1990–present			

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STUDENTS HANDOUTS FOR LOWER-READING-LEVEL *CURRENT ISSUES*

519

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Learning New Information

STUDENT HANDOUT 20

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Who's Who? After reading "The Clinton Administration" and "The 105th Congress," draw a line from each official in Column A to that person's description in Column B.

Column A	Column B
Donna Shalala	• state's attorney for Dade County before becoming attorney general
Barry McCaffrey	• vice president of the United States
Madeleine Albright	• chancellor of the University of Wisconsin before becoming secretary of housing and urban development
Al Gore	• head of the State Department; former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations
Janet Reno	• the "drug czar"
Newt Gingrich	• speaker of the House

Pass or Fail. First read "The 105th Congress" chapter in *Current Issues.* Then, by placing a P for pass or an F for fail in the blank, tell if each of the issues listed below was passed by the 104th Congress or failed to pass.

1. _____ a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution
2. _____ welfare reform
3. _____ term limits for members of the U.S. Congress
4. _____ campaign finance reform
5. _____ increasing the minimum wage

Understanding the Supreme Court. After reading "The Supreme Court," write T for true and F for false next to each statement. If the answer is false, change the statement to make it true.

____ 1. Supreme Court justices are appointed for ten years.

____ 2. The judge who leads the Supreme Court is called the chief justice.

____ 3. Supreme Court decisions can be appealed.

____ 4. Conservative justices always interpret a case conservatively; liberal justices always interpret a case liberally.

____ 5. The two newest Supreme Court justices are Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Clarence Thomas.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 21

THE BUDGET DEFICIT

What Would You Do? Look at the sidebar titled "Reforming Social Security" on page 45 of *Current Issues.* Upon reading it, you will learn that government officials worry that unless Social Security is reformed, it will not be able to keep paying benefits for all the retired Americans. On the back of this handout, list three ways you think the government could change Social Security so retired and disabled people can continue getting their payments. Add one or two sentences explaining why you think each idea will work.

Who Does What? In Column A are three main players in the budget process. In Column B are several things that those players do. Draw a line from one or more of the players in Column A to something they might do in Column B. Remember one player may do more than one thing.

Column A	**Column B**
the president	• has the power to appropriate federal money
	• relies on the Office of Management and Budget to develop a budget
Congress	• has the power to collect tax money
	• pays money to the government and gets money back from the government
	• administers programs funded by the federal government
the people	• tells government officials how federal money should be spent

The Word Is. You can fill in the blanks in the sentences below by paying attention to the words in bold type in your chapter.

1. The money that people pay to the goverment for services is called ______________________ .
2. Congress______________________________ money when it gives that money for a specific use.
3. The federal government draws up a ___________________________ each year that lists the amount of money it has to spend on each program.
4. Americans measure their _______________________ by looking at the necessities and comforts they have in their day-to-day lives.
5. An ________________________ is a formal change added to a law or to the U.S. Constitution.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 22

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Find the Best Word. Search for the word in *Current Issues* printed in bold lettering that best completes each sentence.

1. Taking something by legal means is called ____________________.
2. The money a person must pay to get out of jail before trial is ____________________.
3. Many people, including judges, try to explain or ____________________ the meaning of the Constitution.
4. A developing human from usually three months after conception to birth is called a ____________________.
5. A person younger than 18 years of age is a ____________________.

Constitutional Amendments. As you read, pay careful attention to the constitutional amendments mentioned in the chapter. Then, draw a line from the amendment in Column A to the best description in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
First Amendment	• says that people accused of crimes do not have to testify against themselves
Fourth Amendment	• says that all races and genders must be treated fairly
Fifth Amendment	• gives freedoms of religion, speech, press, and assembly
Sixth Amendment	• protects people from unreasonable searches and seizures
Eighth Amendment	• prevents excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment
Fourteenth Amendment	• promises a person a speedy trial with a jury

Legalized Abortion: Yes or No? Read "Abortion" and "The Debate" in *Current Issues.*

1. In one sentence, tell one reason why some people think abortion should remain legal.

2. In one sentence, tell one reason why some people think abortion should be illegal.

3. On a separate page, write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper stating your opinion about abortion.

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CRIME AND DRUGS

The Best Word Is. As you read "Crime and Drugs," pay close attention to the words and terms printed in boldface type. Then, use them to complete each sentence below.

1. Surprise violent attacks on people are acts of ______________________________ .
2. A serious crime is a ______________________.
3. Supporters of gun control want owners to ______________ their handguns by placing their names on a list.
4. A gun that fires more quickly that other kinds of guns is a __________________________ gun.
5. The murder, or killing of another person, is called a ____ .

Learning from Charts. Study the "Teen Drug Use 1979–1995" chart on page 70 and answer the following questions.

1. In what year was drug use among teens highest in the United States? In what year was it the lowest?
2. Which kind of drug use has gone up the fastest in recent years?
3. Which age group is increasing its drug use the fastest today?

Next, turn to the "Americans in Prison" chart on page 68.

4. How many people were in American prisons in 1996? About how many were in prison ten years before that?
5. What was the last year in which there were fewer than 1 million prisoners in U.S. jails and prisons?

What Do You Think? Some Americans have a bumper sticker on their car that reads, "Guns do not kill people. People kill people." With that slogan in mind, answer the following questions.

1. What do you think this bumper sticker means?

2. Would a member of the National Rifle Association place this bumper sticker on his or her car? Why or why not?

3. Would a supporter of the Brady bill place this bumper sticker on his or her car? Why or why not?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 24

THE ECONOMY

What Have I Read? As you read "The Economy," pay attention to the words in boldface or the headlines. Then draw a line from each word or term in Column A to its definition in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
productivity	• amount of income a person receives that does not change
standard of living	• a measure of day-to-day necessities and comforts
recession	• value of goods a person can produce in one hour
federal budget deficit	• occurs when the economy is not growing and unemployment increases
fixed income	• the difference between how much money the federal government spends and how much it takes in

Make a Choice. Think about what you have just read before choosing an answer.

1. Read the section on "Inflation" and choose the best answer.
   When inflation rises:
   a. wages increase
   b. wages decrease
   c. costs increase

2. Read the section on "Recession" and choose the best answer.
   The U.S. government might try to end a recession by:
   a. increasing the federal interest rate to encourage savings
   b. decreasing taxes to encourage spending
   c. increasing taxes and spending more on social programs

Current Issues for the Economy. Careful reading of the chapter will allow you to write short answers to each of the following questions.

1. What is the "income gap"?

2. Which economic class gets smaller as the income gap gets wider? Why?

3. Give one reason why some people think the government should abandon the current income tax system.

4. Give one reason why some people think the government should not abandon the current income tax system.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 25

EDUCATION

What Is the Meaning of This? Match the words and terms in Column A with the best explanation in Column B by drawing a line between the two items.

Column A	Column B
local control	• a plan to attract students by offering special classes
administrators	• separating people by race
tuition	• communities running schools instead of states or the federal government running schools
segregation	• principals and superintendents
Great Society	• taking children from the neighborhood where they live to a school outside the neighborhood to balance the racial makeup of the school
magnet schools	• money to pay the costs for going to college or private school
busing	• President Johnson's plan to fight poverty

What Have I Read? After you have read "Education" in *Current Issues*, complete the following sentences.

1. President Clinton's plan to reach national education goals is called ________________.
2. A program started by President Johnson for preschool children of low-income families is called ________________.
3. Most tax money to support local schools comes from ________________ taxes.
4. Students who get loans from the government to go to college have to promise to ________________ the loans back after they graduate.

What Am I Looking At? Write an answer to each of the following questions after you have studied the photographs and chart.

1. Study the "More Education Means More Money" chart on page 93 in *Current Issues*.
   - Which adults will earn the most money in a lifetime?
   - Which adults will earn the least money in a lifetime?
   - In one sentence, tell what message you got from this chart.
2. Study the photograph on page 91 and read the caption.
   - In what ways is your classroom different from the classroom shown in the photo?
3. Study the photographs on pages 98 and 100 and read each caption.
   - Could a photographer come to your school and take photos like this with similar captions? Why or why not?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 26

ENVIRONMENT

What's the Word? As you read the chapter on "Environment," pay close attention to the words or terms in boldface. Use them to complete the following sentences.

1. When a plant or animal species dies out, it has reached ____________________.
2. A natural area where plants and animals live is the ______________________.
3. Cattle ______________________ when they eat grass and other plants.
4. Certain areas where trash is buried are known as ___________________.

What Have I Read? After reading "Dangers to the Environment," draw a line from each danger in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
global warming	• caused by air pollution in United States, this rain contains a high level of acid
toxic waste	• garbage—including paper and yard waste
acid rain	• poisonous materials left after a factory makes chemicals, metals, or plastics
nuclear waste	• radioactive materials made by nuclear reactions
solid waste	• a rise in the temperature of the atmosphere

What Happens When? Decide what happens when the event in Column A takes place. Then, draw a line to that result in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
When acid rain falls,	• polar caps may melt and the weather may change.
When ozone is lost,	• plants and animals find it hard to live in the soil, streams, and lakes.
When people create too much waste,	• they may have to recycle their own garbage.
When global warming takes place,	• people may get skin cancer or get sick and crops may be harmed.

Tell Us Your Opinion. After you read the chapter, answer the questions below.

1. What is one reason why communities want people to recycle certain items?
2. What is one reason why the government wants to raise grazing fees on public land?
3. What is one reason why businesses would like the government to relax some environmental laws?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 27

HEALTH CARE

Understanding What You Read. As you read "Health Care," pay attention to the word or terms in boldface. Use them to complete the sentences below.

1. Some members of Congress want to reform Medicare because they want to reduce the budget ______________.
2. In 1994, members of Congress did not pass President Clinton's health care plan because they thought it would bring higher taxes and more ____________________________, or rules.
3. President Clinton proposed his universal health care plan because many people cannot afford private ______________________, which helps pay for medical bills.
4. Doctors ______________________________ their patients against disease by giving them vaccinations.

Agree or Disagree? Read and think about the following sentence: "The government should give health care coverage to all Americans." Listed below are some statements that either agree or disagree with that sentence. Write S in the blank if the sentence *supports* the government giving health care to all Americans. Write O in the blank if the statement *opposes* the government giving health care to all Americans.

________ The government cannot afford to give health care to all Americans.

________ The United States is the only industrialized country that does not provide health care for all its citizens.

________ The United States should make smaller reforms to improve access to health care, without guaranteeing coverage for all Americans.

________ Many Americans want health insurance but cannot afford it.

________ Plans that would cover everyone cost too much.

________ Citizens need health care.

What Is Your Opinion? After reading the "Health Care" chapter, answer the following questions.

1. Write one reason why some people think the government should ask older Americans to pay more for Medicare.

2. Write one reason why some people think that the government should not ask older Americans to pay more for Medicare.

3. In one sentence tell what you think about asking older Americans to pay more for Medicare.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 28

IMMIGRATION

What Is That Word? As you read "Immigration," pay close attention to the words in boldface type. Then, write down the word or term that is best defined below.

1. ____________ A person from another country
2. ____________ An opinion, usually negative, that is not based on fact
3. ____________ An idea that causes disagreement
4. ____________ A person who flees his or her home country for safety elsewhere
5. ____________ A pardon from the government
6. ____________ To send someone back to his or her home country

Describe the Act. As you read "Immigration," pay careful attention to each immigration act mentioned. Then, draw lines from the acts in Column A to their descriptions in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
Immigration Act of 1965	• required immigrants to have a place to live in the United States and pass a security test; passed after World War II
McCarran-Walter Act of 1952	• allows the president to admit a certain number of refugees each year
Displaced Persons Act of 1948	• set an overall quota of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere
Refugee Act of 1980	• tried to stop the flow of illegal immigrants from Latin America; gave immigrants a chance to become citizens
Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986	• added ideology to nationality as a test for admission to the United States

A Letter to the Senator. First read "English Only?" in *Current Issues.* Then make believe that you are a skilled legal immigrant who cannot speak English. Write a letter on the back of this handout to your senator stating your support for or opposition to the plan to make English the official language of the United States.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 29

POVERTY

What Have You Learned? After reading "Poverty," draw a line from each word in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A

Great Depression
poverty
entitlement
guarantee
recession

Column B

- a government program that gives benefits to anyone who meets certain requirements
- a promise to deliver a product or service
- not having enough money for food and shelter
- a time of high unemployment and poverty in the 1930s
- a time when the economy is not doing well

Helping People in Need. Read "The Federal Government Fights Poverty" in "Poverty" to find the name of the government program that best completes each sentence.

1. The program that was originally created by President Roosevelt to aid widowed mothers is called _________.
2. As part of President Johnson's Great Society, people with low incomes may receive subsidized medical care, known as __________________.
3. The largest social program, ________________, pays out money to retired people and their dependents.
4. To make sure that people with low incomes get enough to eat, the Department of Agriculture began the federal __________________ program.

Welfare—What Do You Think? Write a complete sentence to answer each of the following questions.

1. What is one idea that government officials had to reform welfare?
2. What is one reason why some people opposed welfare reform?
3. Why do you agree or disagree with the part of the new welfare law that says adults will have to find work within two years or lose welfare benefits?

What, Where, How? Write a short answer to each question.

1. What are empowerment zones?
2. Where will empowerment zones be started?
3. How will the government help businesses that start up in an empowerment zone?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 30

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

If I. As you read "Women and Minorities," pay careful attention to words and terms printed in boldface type. They will help you complete the following sentences.

1. If I am not being given my rights and freedoms as a citizen, I am being denied my ________________ rights.
2. If I form a negative opinion about someone without much information, I am guilty of ________________.
3. If I treat someone unfairly because of his or her gender or race, I am ________________ against that person.
4. If I joined an organized group of workers that was trying to improve working conditions and salaries for members, I would be a member of a ____________________.
5. If I am married to someone, that person is my ____________________.

A Picture Tells a Story. Answer each question after you have studied the photographs in "Women and Minorities."

1. Look at the photo on page 159. Why could this picture not have been taken in 1996?

2. Look at the photo on page 162. What did Martin Luther King, Jr., want to happen after he gave his speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.?

3. Look at the photo on page 171. Why did the Supreme Court force the Virginia Military Institute to accept women as students?

What is the Meaning of This? Draw a line from the words or terms in Column A to the best explanation for each in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
affirmative action	• laws that separated people by race
Plessy v. Ferguson	• said companies and colleges should try to match the racial and gender makeup of America
"Jim Crow" laws	• said that segregation was legal, as long as facilities were equal
Voting Rights Act	• said that rights would not be denied because someone was male or female
Equal Rights Amendment	• prohibits poll taxes and voter intimidation

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STUDENT HANDOUT 31

DEFENSE

What Happened? After you read a section in "Defense," circle the letter of the answer that best fits.

1. Read "Goals of the U.S. Military."
   NATO was formed to oppose:
   a. the Soviet Union
   b. Nazi Germany
   c. the Warsaw Pact countries
   d. both a and c

2. Read "Using Force."
   The United States fought in Korea and Vietnam to:
   a. protect oil imports to the United States
   b. throw out corrupt governments
   c. contain communism
   d. add new territory to the United States

3. Read "The Changing Role of the U.S. Military."
   The United States sent soldiers to Haiti to:
   a. feed starving Haitians
   b. restore a president who had been elected by the people
   c. keep Haitians from coming to the United States illegally
   d. fight communists

4. Read the sidebar titled "The War Powers Act."
   The War Powers Act restricts the power of:
   a. the president
   b. the president and Congress
   c. Congress
   d. the Constitution

The Word Is. Search for the word printed in bold lettering in the chapter that best fits each of the following descriptions, and write it in the blank.

1. The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1990:____________________
2. Government decisions about how the United States will act toward other countries:____________________
3. The overthrow of an existing government by a small group of people: ____________________

Learning From a Chart. Study the chart "U.S. Defense Spending" on page 185 and answer the following.

1. In what year did the United States spend the most money for defense?

2. Since that year, in what year has the United States spent the least money for defense?

3. In one sentence, write what you have learned from this chart.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 32

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Who's Free and Who's Not Free? By using the "Map of Freedom" on page 196, list five countries in the world that are free, five that are partly free, and five that are not free.

	Free	Partly Free	Not Free
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

A Letter to a Dictator. Read "Democracy and U.S. National Interests" on page 195 of *Current Issues.* Then, using the information from that reading and your own thoughts, write a one-page letter to an undemocratic dictator. In your letter you should tell the dictator why you think he is wrong and why his country should be a democracy. The dictator to whom you write can be an actual person or one you make up. Use the back of this handout for your letter.

Fill in the Blanks. After you have read "Democracy and Human Rights" in *Current Issues,* go back and review the words printed in bold type. You can find each of these words explained in a box on that page or the next page. After you know the meanings of all these words, complete each of the following sentences.

1. Human beings should be treated with honor and respect because they are born with ____________________ and rights.
2. The body of elected officials who make laws in a democracy is called a ____________________.
3. The United States often treats friendly nations kindly because it is looking for ____________________ that have similar goals.
4. If someone treats me unfairly because of my race, gender, or religion, I am a victim of ____________________.
5. A war criminal may be tried before a ____________________, or a court of law.
6. If I run in an election for public office, I am a ____________________ for that office.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 33

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Numbers and More Numbers. As you read "International Trade," you will see a lot of numbers. Most will be years or dollars. After reading the chapter, draw a line from each "number" in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A	Column B
1930	• U.S. trade deficit in 1996
1944	• number of countries that took part in latest GATT talks
123	• one of the first years of the Great Depression
$48 billion	• year when the Bretton Woods system was started
$114.2 billion	• U.S. trade deficit with Japan
1994	• year when NAFTA went into effect

Read and Think. Each of the following items will make you think. After you have read an assigned section, choose the answer that you think is correct.

1. Read "Protectionism" beginning on page 214.
   - If the U.S. government placed a quota on Japanese cars that were brought into the United States, the price of that car would probably:
     a. go up
     b. stay the same
     c. go down
   - In one sentence, tell why you think your answer is correct.

2. Read "U.S. Trading Relationships" beginning on page 221.
   - Americans who do not like NAFTA believe that the agreement will:
     a. ruin the Mexican economy
     b. create too many low-paying jobs in the United States
     c. cause thousands of U.S. jobs to move to Mexico
   - In one sentence, tell what you think will happen because of NAFTA.

Chart and Cartoon Study. Answer the following questions after you study the "U.S. Trade Deficit" chart on page 223 and the cartoon on page 224.

1. What happened to the U.S. trade deficit between 1987 and 1991?

2. What happened to the U.S. trade deficit between 1991 and 1994?

3. What does the cartoon on page 224 tell you about which country—the United States or Japan—is winning the trade battle? How does the cartoon give you that message?

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WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

What Have I Read? After you have read "Weapons Proliferation" in *Current Issues,* complete each of the following sentences.

1. A rocket that carries nuclear weapons to a target is called a ________________________.
2. An agreement signed by leaders of two or more nations is called a ________________________.
3. To take property by legal process is known as ________________________.
4. The act of hiding something and transporting it illegally is called ________________________.
5. A collection of weapons is an ________________________.

What's the Number? Use the chart on page 235 in *Current Issues* to find the number that will answer the following questions.

1. How many nuclear weapons did the United States have in 1990?

   How many nuclear weapons did the United States have in 1996?

2. How many nuclear weapons did the Soviet Union have in 1990?

   How many nuclear weapons did Russia have in 1996?

3. How many nuclear weapons does the United States expect to have in 2003?

   How many nuclear weapons does Russia expect to have in 2003?

What Do You Think? After reading the "Weapons Proliferation" chapter and studying the chart on page 235, state your opinion. In a short paragraph, tell why you think the number of nuclear weapons expected in 2003 is too high, too low, or about right.

Learning from a Cartoon. Study the cartoon on page 237 and answer the following questions.

1. What does the house on the right have in the garage?
2. What is the message of this cartoon?
3. Could a situation like the one shown in this cartoon actually happen? Is it likely to happen?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 35

WORLD POVERTY AND FOREIGN AID

Fill in the Blanks. As you read "World Poverty and Foreign Aid," pay careful attention to the words and terms printed in boldface type. They will help you fill in the missing word or words in each of the following sentences.

1. ____________________ is a condition in which people cannot afford to eat well or live comfortably.
2. People who do not get enough to eat or have to eat food that does not keep them healthy and strong are called ______________________ people.
3. Countries with few industries and natural resources and many people living in poverty are called ________ countries.
4. Potential forms of wealth such as coal, oil, and fertile soil that nations have are called __________ resources.

Nations in Need. As you are reading "World Poverty and Foreign Aid," pay careful attention to the countries that are mentioned in the chapter. There are also countries mentioned in the charts and photograph captions. After reading, draw a line from each of the countries in Column A to the best description in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
China	• a Middle Eastern country that gets the most U.S. aid
Israel	• an African country to which millions of refugees fled to escape civil war at home
Rwanda	• an Asian country that will not be able to feed its huge population by 2025 unless it grows more grain
Mexico	• a poor African country where civil war between two tribes led to a great deal of death and hunger
Zaire	• a North American country whose capital city is one of the most heavily populated cities in the world

Learning from Charts and Pictures. If you study the photographs and charts in "World Poverty and Foreign Aid," you will be able to answer these questions.

1. Look at the picture on page 245 and read the caption. Then, in one or two sentences tell why many people think that reducing population growth could help reduce world poverty.
2. Study the chart on page 248 called "Recipients of U.S. Aid." Then, by using a globe or a world atlas, answer these questions.
   - Which of these ten countries are in the Middle East?
   - Which of these countries are in South America?
   - Which of these countries are in Africa?
3. Study the chart on page 250 called "How Long Do We Live?" Then, write a one-sentence answer to the following question.
   - What does the information on this chart tell you about poverty and life span?

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EAST ASIA

Fill in the Blanks. As you read "East Asia," pay close attention to the words or terms in boldface. Use these words to best complete each of the following sentences.

1. At the end of World War II, Japan could not make ____________________ as well as other industrialized countries because it had been making military equipment for many years.
2. The Japanese government has limited ____________________, or goods bought from other countries, from competing with Japanese goods.
3. Japan relies on international trade because it is an island with few ____________________, or a supply of materials that grow or occur in a certain place.
4. In 1989, many Chinese students and workers who wanted Deng to change China's political system ____________________, or gathered publicly, and shared views in Tiananmen Square.

What Is Your Opinion? In one complete sentence, answer the questions below about the U.S. relationship with China.

1. What is one reason why the United States should not promote trade with China until China improves human rights?
2. What is one reason why the United States should promote trade with China, whether or not China improves its human rights?
3. What do you think? Should the United States risk a split with China by recognizing the government of Taiwan?

Study the Map. Use the map on page 256 to answer the following questions.

1. What is the largest country in East Asia? What large country is located to its north?
2. What two East Asian island nations are large U.S. trading partners?
3. Name two communist countries that border on China.
4. If you traveled from Manila to Hanoi, over what sea would you fly?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 37

EUROPE

What Have I Learned? Choose a word or phrase from the list below to complete each sentence.

Yalta	Marshall Plan	GATT	nationalism

1. The love and respect of one's country, religion, culture, or ethnicity is called________________________.
2. At a meeting at______________________, Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt decided how they would divide Europe after World War II.
3. To help Europe rebuild after World War II, the United States gave Europe economic aid under the__________________________________.
4. More than 100 nations have agreed to reduce trade barriers under a new trade agreement, called____________.

Yes or No? By carefully reading "Europe," you can answer each of the following questions with a yes or no.

1. Did European leaders agree to use a single system of money under the Maastricht Treaty?
2. Does the slogan, "When the United States has a cold, western Europe gets pneumonia," mean that the United States no longer wants to defend Europe?
3. Did Yugoslavia split up because of the fall of communism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe?

Differing Opinions. Read the "Current Issues" and "The Debate" sections of the "Europe" chapter before writing an answer to each of the following questions.

1. Some people think that NATO should add new members from eastern Europe. Why do they think that would be good? Why are some experts against expanding NATO?
2. Some people think the United States should no longer help defend Europe. Why do they think that way? Why do some Americans think the United States should continue to defend Europe?
3. Why do some Americans think that the United States should keep peacekeeping troops in Bosnia?
4. Why do some Americans think the United States should remove its peacekeeping troops in Bosnia?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 38

LATIN AMERICA

What Country Is It? Read the Latin America chapter of *Current Issues*. Then, draw a line from each country in Column A to its description in Column B.

Column A	Column B
Mexico	• ended a long civil war between the communist government and U.S.–supported *contras* in 1989
Haiti	• thriving South American democracy that may become the fourth member of NAFTA
Cuba	• former French colony that the United States threatened to invade if the military refused to bring back Aristide as president
Nicaragua	• U.S. neighbor that is a part of NAFTA; leader in social and economic change in Latin America
Chile	• ninety miles away from Florida, this country was the Soviet Union's ally for more than thirty years

Famous People. Using the "Latin America" chapter as a guide, complete the following sentences with the names of Latin American leaders.

1. The president of Mexico, ____________________, is focusing on economic growth, just like the president before him, Carlos Salinas.
2. This former mayor of Managua, Nicaragua, ____________________, defeated Daniel Ortega for president in 1996.
3. Chilean president ____________________ has helped make his country economically strong and the next likely member of NAFTA.
4. The leader of Cuba, ____________________, recently signed an agreement with the United States whereby he would stop the illegal immigration of Cubans to the United States if the U.S. government would allow up to 20,000 Cubans to enter the United States legally.

New Words. As you read "Latin America," pay attention to the words in boldface. Use these words to complete the following sentences.

1. The president of Mexico from 1988 to 1993, Carlos Salinas, carried out economic and social ____________.
2. The illegal buying and selling of drugs is called drug ____________________.
3. The United States placed a ____________________ against Nicaragua, which meant the United States stopped trading with Nicaragua.
4. The government of Colombia has trouble with the country's powerful ____________________.
5. In capitalist countries, the people hope to make a financial gain, or a ____________________.

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STUDENT HANDOUT 39

THE MIDDLE EAST

Following the Timeline. After you have read and studied "Timeline of Arab-Israeli Events" on pages 306 to 310 in *Current Issues*, answer the following questions.

1. What two religious groups live in Palestine around the city of Jerusalem?
2. In what year did these two religious groups first go to war?
3. What event led to that war?
4. Which Arab country was the first to make peace with Israel?
5. Why is the year 1993 important to peace in the Middle East?

What Have I Read? After you have read "The Middle East" in *Current Issues*, complete each of the following sentences.

1. The murder of millions of European Jews by German Nazis is called the ________________________.
2. A small Middle Eastern country that has large numbers of both Christians and Muslims is _______________.
3. People who believe in strict observance of their religious beliefs are called __________________________.
4. Israel took the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and the Sinai Peninsula in the __________War.
5. The leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is __________________.

Study the Map. Use the maps on pages 303 and and 311 of *Current Issues* to decide whether the following sentences are true or false.

____ 1. Israel has four Arab countries and the Mediterranean Sea on its borders.

____ 2. The Dead Sea borders on one side of the Gaza Strip.

____ 3. Amman, Jordan, is less than 100 miles from Jerusalem.

Study the Photo. Study the photo on page 316 in "The Middle East." Then write a short paragraph telling what you think an Israeli would have to say about this event and what a Palestinian would have to say about this event.

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RUSSIA

What Did I Do? After you have read "Russia" in *Current Issues*, draw a line from each name in Column A to one quotation in Column B that that person could have said.

Column A	Column B
Boris Yeltsin	• I resigned on December 25, 1991, because there was no more Soviet Union to rule.
John Kennedy	• I signed the SALT I Treaty with Leonid Brezhnev.
Leonid Brezhnev	• I locked myself and other communists in the parliament to keep Yeltsin from holding elections.
Richard Nixon	• I threatened the Soviets with nuclear war if they did not take their missiles out of Cuba.
Mikhail Gorbachev	• I signed SALT II with U.S. president Jimmy Carter.
Alexander Rutskoi	• I started economic "shock therapy" in Russia after I became president.

Study the Map. Open *Current Issues* to page 321 and use the map of Russia and the other former Soviet republics to answer the following questions.

1. If you were in Moldova and wanted to go to Russia, over what former Soviet republic would you fly?
2. If you were in Russia and wanted to go to Kyrgyzstan, over what former Soviet republic would you fly?

Every Picture (and Cartoon) Tells a Story. Write an answer to each of the following questions after you have studied the photographs and cartoon.

1. Look at the photographs on page 324 and page 337 in *Current Issues*.
   - How are these two pictures alike?
   - How are they different?
   - In one sentence, tell how the relationship between the United States and Russia has changed during the years between the times the two pictures were taken.
2. Look at the cartoon on page 335.
   - Who is the "patient" supposed to be?
   - What illnesses is this "patient" suffering from?
   - In a sentence, tell what this cartoon says about Russia today.

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